

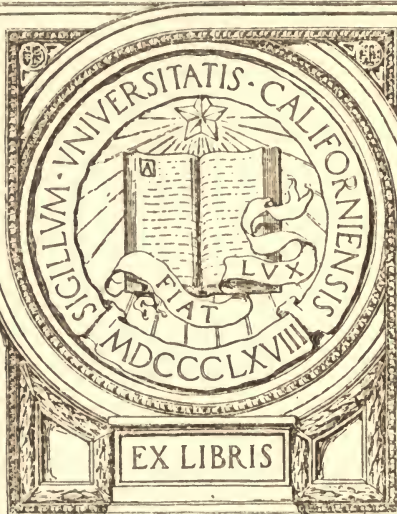
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THE

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS

OF

THE UNITED STATES.

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BY

WASHINGTON M'CARTNEY, ESQ.

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PHILADELPHIA:

PUBLISHED BY E. H. BUTLER & CO.

1847.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE following Lectures are designed, as the title imports, to give a view of the Origin and Progress of the United States. The first part of this title has reference to the events connected with North America previously to the Revolution; the second part comprises the general course of affairs since that epoch. The originating period contains a variety of facts, apparently isolated, accidental, and disconnected with any ultimate results. An attempt is here made to exhibit the mode in which these facts contributed to the production, union, and peculiarities of our republic. The second period—the period of Progress, which I have marked as extending from the adoption of the Constitution in A. D. 1789, to the present time, also embraces a large variety of affairs, which combine to give an exhibition of the advancement of the

United States in power, in political skill, in population, and in geographical extension. The events belonging to this period make known the process by which our institutions have acquired their present degree of stability. In treating of the affairs of this period it is perhaps impossible to avoid the exceptions that may be taken by men of different political views. I have only to say that the theories and results here stated are stated in all candour, and seemed to be warranted by the facts upon which they rest.

With these remarks the present volume is submitted to the reader.

Easton, Pa., July 4th, 1846.

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

PRELIMINARY LECTURE.

Elements of human history—The historic record—Civilization and the Divine Plan—The extent of history—The kind of facts it makes known—Civilization—What it is, and how made known in history—Theories concerning progressive Civilization: I. The Egyptian Civilization; II. The Grecian; III. The Chinese; IV. The Hindoo; V. The Mexican or Aztec; VI. The Saracenic; VII. The Germanic, or modern European Civilization—Connexion of these civilizations with each other—Influence of religion and commerce on Civilization—Connexion of our Republic with the European Civilization—Peculiarities of this Civilization in our Republic: Democracy and free religion—The Divine Plan—Its admission gives unity to events in history—The principle of design illustrated—Benefits of a historic knowledge of institutions.

I PROPOSE to deliver a course of lectures on the history of the United States. Instead, however, of proceeding immediately to the events connected with the origin and progress of our republic, I will, in this preliminary lecture, direct your attention to some general views of history. My design in doing this is to give you first a general notion of the connexion of the United States with other nations, and to represent, if possible, in

luminous, prominent relief, the part our country is acting in the career of the human race.

“All the world’s a stage,
And all the men and women merely players.”

What part in this great drama do the “men and women” of our republic act? We will be able to answer this question when we shall have learned what parts of the play have already been performed by other nations; and this knowledge we obtain from history.

History deals in facts. It is a record of what has been done among the human race. But the simple record is not the whole of history. In addition to the recorded facts, there are others whose existence is made known rather inferentially than expressly. The first of these inferential facts is the *design* or *plan* of the Divine Governor of the world in reference to the human race. This fact lies *back* of those that appear upon the historic record. The second of these inferential facts is the *civilization* of the human race. This fact runs *parallel* with those that appear upon the record. These two facts come to our knowledge inferentially, and in that respect differ from the facts usually set forth in the narrations of history: they are, nevertheless, facts. The mode in which we obtain a knowledge of them does not affect their existence or their nature. That the present European race is generally civilized, is as much a fact as that our republic exists. That the Ruler of the world has a design or plan in reference to the human race, is as much a fact as that the plant grows or the flower fades. We may therefore say, that the main elements of human history are the usually narrated facts—the civilization of mankind—and the plan of the Divine Governor of the world in regard to the human race.

These three elements are connected together as design, means, and end. The existence of a moral Governor of the world involves the idea of a Ruler who plans or designs ends beneficial to the human race: civilization is one of these ends, and the facts narrated in history are actions or agencies by which this end is attained.

To show the legitimacy of the statement just made; to give you a definite idea of the elements of human history; and to show you how they are connected together, let us pass in review before you

First, THE HISTORIC RECORD;

Second, CIVILIZATION;

Third, THE DIVINE DESIGN.

This review will give you a general notion of the connexion of the United States with other nations, both with those whose race is run and with those who now figure on the stage of action. We need not torture ourselves to keep these three divisions entirely separate. For since when taken together they form one system, and are intimately connected together as design, means, and end, the consideration of one of them necessarily involves some portions of the others. But preserving between them such a separation as their natural unity admits, we are to consider, in the first place,

THE HISTORIC RECORD.

You have a general idea of what is understood by history. You know that it is a narration of facts, of events, of matters that concern masses of men. Were we to divide it into ancient and modern, or into civil, political, and ecclesiastical, we would be making merely artificial divisions. The plan of Providence in reference to the human race, is one system, one plan; and not many. The facts or events which have come to pass in

the accomplishment of this plan, and many of which are noted on the record of history, are consequently only one system of facts. Some of these facts occurred "long time ago." Some of them occurred in the church, and some of them out of the church; but they are all parts of one system, and have the unity which belongs to different means, all co-operating to one result.

Were we to divide history into ancient and modern, we might be perplexed to find the boundary where the ancient ceases, and the modern commences. Were we to classify it into civil, political, and ecclesiastical, we would be dividing in theory what has been united in fact. For the stream of time flows equably and unceasingly onward. Nations are young, grow old, and pass away; all are, in turn, ancient and modern. Their birth, their life, and their death, are told to us in the brief narrations of history; but of some of them we have only a few meager sketches; mere scratchings of enigmatical figures are in many cases all that is left to us of great nations. But the representations of history, whether obscure or bright, whether meager or full, exhibit to us political institutions, religious ceremonies, and social life. These institutions, ceremonies, and life, have generally been combined into one system, and have existed not separately, but unitedly. Facts affecting them make up the body of the historic record.

As an illustration of this, cast your eye over the history of Europe during the last thirteen centuries, and what facts do you see revealed? You see nations struggling into being. You see men contending for civil rights. You see kings and princes warring abroad and at home to maintain their political existence, or increase their political power. You see also the influence of the religious element. Everywhere your eye falls upon

facts connected with social life, political rights, and ecclesiastical matters. If you look beyond the present European nations, the same three elements still furnish the facts of history. In old Persia, in Egypt, in Greece, in Judea, in China, in India, and wherever you turn, you witness a series of facts connected with religion, with national independence, and with civil rights. You everywhere see men diligent in their own individual affairs, or in the affairs of the nation, or in matters of religion. In a word, religion, politics, and private property, occupy the attention of mankind. The state in its internal organization or in its external relations, is what we mean by politics.

But over what extent in time do the representations of history reach, and how much of the destiny of our race do they exhibit? Have men always been attending to religion, politics, and property, and will they continue to attend to them through all generations to come? History is essentially made up of things that are past; but the destiny of mankind reaches from the past into the future. The career of the human race opens in Paradise, and the vicissitudes of its march to the present time are, as we have said, very meagerly sketched in history. But where history drops the pen, prophecy takes up the story; and by anticipating the course of events, by noting down results rather than processes, reveals the progress of man towards the consummation of his being. If we look to the past, we learn a few of the vicissitudes of the race. Scraps of narratives, relics, monuments, mummies, and the cast-off garments of dead nations, inform us of the general movements of mankind in the ages that are finished. If we turn to the future, the coming fortunes of the race are shadowed forth in prophecy. If we

try to follow these fortunes onward in time, trumpets of joy and trumpets of sorrow sound in our ears, great changes are intimated, times of adversity come on, brighter days arrive, and the prophetic curtain drops on the human race in the full blaze of millennial glory. Between the original imparadised state of man in Eden, and his reimparadised state in the Messianic kingdom, where prophecy itself ceases to follow his fortunes, a long, long tract of time intervenes.

In this interval the past and the future meet, and history, joining hands with prophecy, follows our race in its travels from the paradise of the creation to the paradise of the millenium. The general fortunes of man between these two states are thus evolved before us, but shadows, clouds, and darkness, often rest upon them. If prophecy be obscure, history is meager ; but notwithstanding their dimness when united, they form an outline—a general landscape of human things, which has many points of intense interest. This landscape—this picture of the race in all its fortunes, past and to come, is one single piece—one simple grand tableau. It contains, however, so many obscure points, and such a variety of particulars, and is spread over such a vast space, that our vision is not competent to take in at a single view its details and grand figures.

This incompetency or inability compels us to restrict our attention to some isolated portion of the great picture. Accordingly, one writer occupies himself upon prophecy ; another, upon history ; and these divisions are again subdivided. A Gibbon writes the history of declining Rome ; a Hume romances about the history of England ; the pen of a Robertson adorns the times of Charles V., while a Vitringa draws from Divine revelation details of future events. The great and comprehen-

sive landscape of human fortunes is thus cut and carved, and we have an infinitude of partial pictures, varying in all degrees of extension, from the history of complicated national combinations down to individual biography. The history of the present European nations is one of these partial pictures, the history of Saracenic power is another, the history of Grecian power is another, the history of Roman power is another, and the history of our own republic is another. These pictures may be comprehensive and grand in themselves, but in reference to the whole human race they are partial—mere fragmentary things—parts of that great picture of human fortunes which is drawn by the united pencils of history and prophecy.

From this rapid survey you perceive the extent of time over which history reaches, and the position it occupies in a general representation of human things. Though of itself incomplete, yet, when joined to prophecy, the two united fill out one picture. Each reaches away from the luminous present, the one into the misty future, and the other into the obscure past. But I do not design to dwell upon these general views. They have been presented here for the purpose of giving an idea of the position occupied by our own country in the general course of human affairs. For, by drawing our attention away from the present, and looking to the whole career of mankind, past and future, we can form a more proper idea of the limits and extent of our field of labour, when we undertake to examine the origin, organization, and progress of the United States. The history of any single nation is merely a fragment of a more extensive picture. But in the vision of the ancient monarch, the little stone became a great mountain, and filled all the earth; and in our vision the principles evolved in the origin and formation of our republic, give promise of extensive influ-

ence upon the fortunes of our race. We are therefore prepared to affix a proper value upon the events of our own history, by viewing them in connexion with the general current of human things. Standing on an eminence from which the fortunes of our race may be surveyed, we would not see that the destinies of the world were immediately changed when John Hancock wrote his name to the Declaration of Independence; but we would see that the doctrines and practices of our republic were destined to exercise an extensive influence upon mankind; an influence vastly greater than was indicated by the humble labours of the men who originated our government.

Having taken this general view of history, and examined the kind of facts it reveals, and the extent of time over which it reaches, we come to the next matter which we proposed to examine; namely,

CIVILIZATION.

History announces the facts that have occurred in accomplishing the destiny and discipline of the human race. Parallel with these facts is the inferential fact of civilization. We may properly name it an inferential fact, because it discovers itself by way of inference or argument, rather than by express assertion. For example, when the ancient Tyrians are described as revelling in wealth, and clothed in purple and fine linen, the inferential fact is that they had a regular government—that they were acquainted with the arts—that they had laws for restraining crimes against person and property—in a word, that they were civilized. But how much of the internal life of the Tyrians is set forth in the express facts recorded in history? Their individual cultivation, their social enjoyments, their domestic customs, their political

system, their political parties, their conviviality, their commercial regulations, their whole internal life, all these are matters of speculation. History is silent upon them ; yet these matters enter largely into the civilization of a people.

You may perhaps ask, what is civilization ? what fact is expressed by the term ? I answer, that by civilization is understood the progress, the improvement of man, individually, socially, and politically. But, without labouring at a definition, let us, for illustration, take the Esquimaux Indian, and consider in what respects he is affected by a process of civilization. First, what is he as an *individual* ? He is a grovelling savage, clothed in skins if clothed at all, living in filth, a barren intellect, a man in form, an ourang-outang in mind and action.

Secondly, what is he *socially* ? What is his condition as a member of society ? He is a stranger to the enjoyments, to the ornaments, and elegancies of social life. Painting, music, poetry, sculpture, agriculture, commerce, all are alike unknown to him. If he does occasionally make a mud figure or scream a wild song, he is not a proficient in sculpture, music, or other of the arts of cultivated life. If he have a squaw, she is a slave and not a companion.

Thirdly, what is he *politically* ? He has no political existence, lives under no organized government, has neither king, president, nor representative. His whole being, in all its relationships, is summed up when you say that he is a big-headed, short-bodied, oil-drinking, pagan Indian.

Suppose now this Esquimaux be changed into a properly educated Pennsylvanian ; wherein does he differ from his former self ? He is changed, individually, socially, and politically.

Individually, he is no longer a mere ourang-outang. He has now a cultivated mind, looks out upon a new heavens and a new earth, reads the handwriting of his Creator in the stars, in the plants, in the flowers, on the streams, and in his Bible.

Socially, he enjoys the comforts of life, exchanges his cavern for a comfortable dwelling, has a bed to sleep on, a table to eat from, a wife for a companion, and neighbours to visit.

Politically, he is a member of a nation, lives in security, and exerts through his government an influence on distant quarters of the world. Commerce lays the treasures of the ocean at his feet, agriculture pours its fruits into his lap, science causes the elements of nature to minister to his wants, and the arts surround him with articles for use and ornament. This progress, this advancement, or rather this advanced condition of the Esquimaux, we call civilization; and these changes constitute the civilizing process.

Different theories have been adopted respecting the origin of this process, and different degrees of universality and continuity have been ascribed to it. One theory starts with the human race as a mere horde of outlaws, roaming through the antediluvian world like a most wicked gang of sinners, and living, merely great muscular Cainite Indians. From this point of depression the race gradually rises, and marching ever onward, passes through the several grades of civilization. One series of nations has commenced the civilizing process where its predecessors ceased; and thus, through the Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Saracens, and Germans, there has been a gradual, unbroken advancement. This advancement will continue indefinitely, till in time the

race will attain the perfection of its nature, and evil cease to molest the world.

This theory was promulgated at the opening of the French or great European revolution in the closing years of the last century, and has been defended on two grounds diametrically opposite. The originators of the theory, Condorcet, Paine, and Godwin, advocated the continued and indefinite progression of the race in civilization, but represented that progression as resulting from political institutions, from educated intellect, from a rejection of the restraints of religion, marriage, and similar opposing elements. After these wild, fanatical disorganizers had promulgated their theory, it was adopted by many Christian theologians, who likewise saw in the history of the past, and in the landscape of the future, a continued progression of the human race. But, unlike its infidel originators, the Christian advocates of the theory saw, in the continued advancement of the race in the ages that are past, the accomplishment of a Divine plan in the government of the world. Casting their eyes towards the future, they also saw the same visions which appeared to Condorcet and Paine ; but in opposition to those unbelievers, they represented man's progression on to perfection, as a result that would be derived from a wider diffusion of Christianity, and from the operation of its regenerating and life-infusing power. The infidel and Christian advocates of this theory concur in the representation that the race has moved gradually and continually onward in the times that are past, and that it will go on improving in the times that are to come, till it finally arrives at the perfection of its nature. They differ, however, in regard to the influences which cause this indefinite improvement. They agree about

the fact, but not about the means which produce the fact.

Antagonistic to this theory of progression is another that represents the human race either as stationary, or at most moving in circles of civilization. The defenders of this theory find human nature the same in all ages of the world, from the fall of Adam to the present hour. According to them, there exists in the very moral and physical structure of man elements hostile to continued improvement, and they point to the history of the world to prove that there has been no transmission of civilization from one circle of nations to another. According to them, each nation, or circle of nations, grew up, and became civilized with its own peculiar civilization, and when its destiny was accomplished it passed away, in most cases merely

“ Leaving a name at which the world grew pale,
To point a moral, or adorn a tale.”

According to this theory, there have been as many civilizations as there have been circles of nations; but the limits and duration of national existence have in general been the limits and duration of each peculiar civilization. These theorists tell us that the civilization of a people springs from an internal element of life, an element that has its being in human nature, and is co-extensive with the human family; an element that is always ready to develop itself, and which, when permitted to act, sets a nation, or circle of nations, in motion, and moves them, gradually up the hill of civilization. But when this cultivation has been carried to a certain point, adverse influences come to act upon it; the people among whom it has appeared lose their national existence, or become effeminate, or torn with civil commo-

tions; the light of science burns out, the arts languish, die and are buried, and the world begins anew the work of improvement.

If this theory be adopted, then one of the leading objects of historical inquiry would be to ascertain the peculiar form of civilization in different nations, and recount the influences which set the civilizing element to work. But the question recurs, which of these antagonistic theories is admissible—which of them is sustained by the actual facts which have occurred. Has the whole world of mankind been steadily progressing in the work of improvement, from the time when the Most High divided the nations, to the present hour? or has the human family been stationary, or merely making only here and there a flying visit to the Eden of civilization, and a speedy retreat to the backwoods of wild nature? Which theory harmonizes the facts, the actual events that have occurred in the world? or is there a middle ground, where the stationary, log-like theory of humanity meets the semi-infidel, semi-christian theory of progression? Let us see what the actual movements of mankind teach upon this subject.

Civilization, as we have said, is a fact, and a fact of whose existence at different points in time we are made acquainted by the narrations of history. What then do the facts set forth in the history of the world enable us to infer concerning the course of civilization? Has it been progressive, or has it moved in cycles? Or if it has moved in neither of these ways, how has it moved? That we may answer these questions, let us take a rapid survey of the most remarkable developments of civilization that have been made in the world. Such a survey will also enable us to define the position of the United States among the nations, in regard to advance-

ment, and to exhibit the origin and peculiar elements of our own civilization.

I. The first form of civilization appeared in the north-east of Africa, and spread into the adjacent regions. The Ethiopian was the first branch of the human race that obtained any high degree of cultivation. Descending from the mountains of Nubia and Abyssinia, this civilization reached a high perfection in the valley of Egypt. From Egypt it spread into Arabia, Phœnicia, Nineveh, Chaldea, and covered the whole southwest of Asia. It also ran along the northern coast of Africa, and founded Carthage and the Numidian States. But the valley of Egypt was the centre of this civilization. There the human intellect received its first extensive developement. There the sciences flourished, the pyramids rose, architecture, sculpture, painting, chemistry, mechanics, and the ornamental and useful arts were cultivated. The Egyptians became men in everything except in religion. They sent colonies to the adjacent countries; and Tyre, Nineveh, Babylon, Persia, and all the lands watered by the Tigris and Euphrates, became parts of the Egyptian circle of nations. We may, by way of distinction, call this the Egyptian Civilization.

Herodotus and the Greek writers describe the civilized Egyptians as men with "dark skins and woolly heads." From the crocodiles and bulrushes of the Nile, these gentlemen of colour carried the arts and improvements of life to their colonies; and if we pin our faith to the songs of Homer, the black Memnon, a prince from the southern side of the Mediterranean, was considered a beauty and "cut quite a figure" among the well-booted Greeks at the siege of Troy. All the circle of nations that filled Southwestern Asia and Northeastern Africa participated in this civilization.

How far it extended among the "dark skins and woolly heads" in the interior of Africa, we know not.

What became of this civilization? Did the human race make this high eminence the foundation on which to erect a still higher tower, whose top should reach on upward to the heaven of perfection? Not at all. The Egyptian civilization came to an end. The builders became confused; and if you permit me to continue the same *towering* figure, I may add that they were scattered abroad upon the face of all the earth, and left off to build. In unfigurative language, the nations of South-eastern Asia and Northeastern Africa gradually became barbarians. They became, not *civilly*, but *civilizedly* dead. Who inherited their estate? To what Texas is their civilization gone? Near the Nile stand the pyramids, huge masses of clay and stone. Broken columns, old pieces of pottery, sphinx heads, and sherds of carved work are occasionally dug up, in the valley of the Nile and Euphrates. The rest is gone. Who got it?

Such was the career of civilization in the Egyptian circle of nations, among whom

"On leeks and onions 't was profane to dine,
And long-tailed cats took rank divine."

II. The second civilization that appeared was among the Greeks and Romans. This was the civilization of the white race. It is usual to connect the arts, sciences, and whole cultivation of the Greeks, individual, social, and political, with those of the Egyptians. Cadmus carrying the alphabet from Phœnicia (a colony of Egypt) to Greece, is the usual symbol of the Egyptian civilization migrating to the Caucasian or White race. Cecrops too, that Daniel Boone of Greece, it is said, came from Egypt; and Pythagoras, Herodotus, and other

Greeks travelled in the land of the pyramids, and consequently must have brought home with them all that was worth learning in the valley of the Nile. If they did not do so, they would have been better employed at home than in sauntering through Egypt, and gaping at the crocodiles, frogs and onions. In a word, the usual representation is that the civilization of the white race came by way of derivation from Egypt.

But what does the historic record intimate upon this point? It does not say that Africa went on a mission of civilization to Europe. If we believe the Greeks, their own civilization was spontaneous, aboriginal, quite as *autochthonic* as they believed themselves to be. It sprang from that innate element of developement which is implanted in human nature, and did not come by way of derivation from Egypt. Cecrops, that grasshopper king, was an autochthon, an aboriginal, and a good woodsman; and Cadmus knew his alphabet, but sprang from among the grasshoppers of his own Greece. Such is the result of Greek teaching upon the origin of their civilization.

If we compare the Greek with the Egyptian civilization, we are almost compelled to admit the aboriginal origin of the former. *Individually, socially, and politically*, the Greek cultivation not only differed from the Egyptian, but had little in common with it. Individually, the Greeks were philosophic, and the Egyptians religious. Politically, the Greeks were republicans, and the Egyptians subjects of an autocrat. The social life of each was moulded by their political system and individual form of cultivation. Were we to sum up the respective characteristics of the two circles of nations, we would say that Grecian architecture, sculpture, painting, manners, literature, in a word, the Grecian arts,

sciences, and life, differed radically from those of Egypt. How could such differences in all that relates to human cultivation exist, if Grecian civilization owed its origin and existence to the Egyptians? If the Greek bore any resemblance, either *individually*, *socially*, or *politically*, to the Egyptian, we might be persuaded that he obtained his whole composition, and derived his entire cultivation from Egypt. But as long as the general rule of nature exists, that like produces like, we must prefer the Hellenistic and aboriginal origin of Grecian civilization to its Egyptian derivation.

But, dismissing the farther discussion of this point, we perceive that in the matter of extension the Grecian, like the Egyptian civilization, was proselyting in its career. We have said that the Egyptian civilization extended itself over Northern Africa and Southwestern Asia. The Grecian civilization went on a similar mission of proselytism. After cradling itself in the islands of the Ægean, in the south of Italy, on the shores of Asia Minor, and through Macedonia, it went forth with Alexander the Great, and spread itself over Asia. In consequence of his wild career, Grecian cities studded the mountains and the valleys from the Indus to the Bosphorus, and all the Eastern World became Greek. Even Egypt itself was recivilized by Grecian science and government; and Syria, Persia, Asia Minor, and Mesopotamia, were added to the Macedonian Empire, and tasted of Grecian cultivation as well as of Grecian tyranny. Such was the meteoric rapidity of Grecian civilization over the East. But, by and by, the all-conquering Roman began to look across the Adriatic, and Greece yielded to the iron power of the West. The great Macedonian Empire, after having been dismembered by the generals of Alexander, fell piecemeal to

the earth; and in the extension of military conquest and despotism, the Roman legion took the place of the Macedonian phalanx. But the proud Greek, with his Plato under his arm, curled his lip in cold disdain at the ignorance of his Roman conqueror; bowed to his master, and taught him philosophy and the arts. The Roman Empire was enlightened with the blaze of Grecia's captive genius, and became the centre and circumference of the civilized world.

But, in time, adversity began to attend the steps of this civilization. The Teutonic tribes came down from the north, and Goths, Vandals, Franks, and other divisions of men from the great Germanic family, trod down the western division of the Roman Empire. The eastern division of the colossal power, from its capital at Constantinople, still sent its lines of light into the world. But the Turk reached the Bosphorus; his cannon battered down the city of Constantine; the Greek fire was extinguished; Greek philosophers became Turkish slaves; and the civilization of two thousand years ceased to exist.

III. A third form of civilization appeared in the remote East. For long centuries, *individual*, *social*, and *political* improvement had been going forward among the tribes who had their habitations on the vast plains, and along the magnificent rivers of Eastern Asia. About two centuries and a half before the Christian era, these tribes were gathered into one consolidated Chinese empire, by a gentleman who rejoiced in the tough name of Chihoangti. His fame looms out from the mists of antiquity, and a few scanty records tell, with Spartan brevity, such facts as the following:

Chihoangti built the great wall of China.

Chihoangti, a high-toned federalist, united all the

independent governments of China into one single empire.

Chihoangti burned all the books and archives of his empire, that posterity might believe him the first of his race, the father of literature, and the founder of a mighty state.

Chihoangti was the Justinian of his people, made good laws for them, hanged robbers, and patronized the fine arts.

All this, and more, did Chihoangti do, two long centuries before the Christian era. Great is the renown of Chihoangti, the book-burning, wall-building Chinese federalist.

For twelve centuries after him the Chinese people and government flourished in the enjoyment of a peculiar civilization. Sculpture, painting, printing, and almost all the useful arts flourished among them. They cultivated literature and science, and enjoyed the luxuries and elegancies and ornaments of life. *Individually, socially, and politically*, they were an improved people. If one false religion be better than another, they had the purest of all pagan religions. They cultivated the domestic relations, and, by means of printing, diffused books on morals, agriculture, and the arts.

This Asiatic civilization was not very proselyting in its tendencies. It was bounded on the north and north-west by Chihoangti's great wall, and on the south and east by the ocean. What connexion had it with the Egyptian or Grecian civilization? How is it to be *derived* from them? Did Chihoangti dig Greek roots and read Plato, or travel along the Nile? Or did this Chinese civilization spring from the internal element of improvement that is ingrained into the very nature of man? Whatever may have been its origin, the fact itself is well

established, that while the Germanic barbarians were trampling upon the civilization of the white race in the West, the swarthy sons of Shem in the East were living "in high life" and enjoying their peculiar civilization.

IV. The fourth form of civilization had its locality in the peninsula of Hindostan. The lamp of history casts a dim and shadowy light upon the fortunes of the Hindoos: a term which for brevity we may employ to designate the inhabitants of India west and south of the basin of the Ganges. The Greek writers who accompanied the expedition of Alexander, describe their manners, institutions, and life, with an unsteady pen. From the wild visit of the Grecian conqueror down to the Moslem invasion in the twelfth century, mists and darkness rest upon the nations that were grouped within the geographical limits of the Indus, the Himmaleh Mountains, and the Indian Ocean. The native records of events that occurred during this long interval, are meager, unsatisfactory, and insufficient to give any definite idea of the civilization that there existed. But by combining the poetic vagaries of the native writers with the revelations of the Moslem invaders and with the facts made known by the recent visits and conquests of Europeans, we are able to draw a picture, dimly defined indeed, but still a picture of the individual, social, and political condition of the Hindoos. From these sources we arrive at a knowledge of the fact, that a cluster of civilized nations, embracing many millions of inhabitants, long existed in Hindostan. No overtowering imperial government united this family of nations. They were separated, like the present inhabitants of Europe, whom they about equalled in number, into distinct and disconnected kingdoms. But among all these kindred kingdoms, though diversified by local peculiarities, a similar form of civil-

ization prevailed. In government, in religion, in the arts, in the sciences, in their moral precepts, in their laws, they were a tolerably united circle of nations. Cut into divisions or castes, between which no sympathy and little communication existed, this circle of nations reached a high grade of improvement. In the arts and sciences they were masters, in laws they were just, in religion they were devotees of the most ardent kind; and though their taste differed widely from that of Europeans, they had a literature that intimates a high degree of cultivation. Two peculiarities of their form of civilization deserve to be noticed, because they exercised an immense influence upon Hindoo life.

The first of these peculiarities is the system of castes, the second is the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. The system of castes is ingrained into their political and religious institutions, and is an essential element in their practical life. The doctrine of the transmigration of souls is an article of faith which leads to important consequences. In their religious belief, transmigration is an evil which can only be avoided by rising in holy contemplation of the Divine nature to a purification of the soul. Hence, there is a tendency to a monastic life, and an actual devotion which is more earnest than in most other creeds. Their exertions to attain by pure contemplation an intimate intercourse with the Divine Being, gives their faith a *mystic* form. If purified by such a communion, the soul at death is free from the condemnation of going into a frog, a cow, or a monkey, but is absorbed into the Divine essence, and participates in the felicity of Deity. Hence the Hindoos strive, by meditation, to avoid the evil of transmigration.

Such is the practical influence of the system of castes

and of the doctrine of transmigration upon the civilization of the Hindoo circle of nations.

It has been supposed that this circle of nations had in early ages a very intimate connexion with the nations who enjoyed the Egyptian civilization. Theorists have even represented India as the original home of the arts and sciences which blessed, and of the religion which degraded Egypt and its associate nations. The fact that a high grade of civilization existed in India is admitted. Its origin lies hidden in the remote past. All that we know concerning its commencement is, that when the curtain rises, the Hindoos are a cultivated people. But no man can positively affirm that the proselyting spirit of Hindoo civilization ever carried it far beyond the limits of Hindostan. A few straggling rays may perhaps have glimmered from it into Farther India ; but that the civilization of the Egyptian nations came from Hindostan, either by way of derivation or imitation, is an article of historic faith to which we are not in haste to subscribe.

The existence of the Hindoo civilization at an early period of the world's history is admitted. But its origin, its migrations, and its proselytism are unknown. One fact we think will be admitted, and it is a fact in which, in the present discussion, we are much interested. The fact to which I refer is, that no other nation or cluster of nations, has made the Hindoo civilization the starting point for a higher, more refined, and more glorious cultivation. The influence of Hindoo civilization upon their Mahometan conquerors, does not constitute an exception to this observation ; for the Mahometan invaders rose no higher in cultivated life than the Hindoo nations which they conquered.

From all the information given by history, by Hindoo poetry, and by the monuments still existing in the country,

the inference is legitimate that civilization was farther advanced in Hindostan at the invasion of Alexander the Great, than it is at the present day. If it originated not in an internal element of human improvement, we know not where to seek its origin.

V. A fifth form of civilization appeared among the aboriginal Mexicans of North America. The Mexican or Aztec people, when visited by the Spaniards, were in possession of a civilization of their own. Their individual, social, and political condition, gave evidence of a high degree of improvement. Their religion, their laws, their arts, and their agriculture, all concur in proving that the Aztec people were not "untutored savages." The fact of their civilization is admitted. But whence did it come? What was its point of connexion with the civilizations that preceded it in time? Strong efforts have been made to show a connecting link between the Aztec and Chinese civilization, and the result is as follows:

Some time in the thirteenth century of the Christian era, the Tartar tribes of Asia, disregarding Chihoangti's wall, invaded China, conquered it, and a Tartar prince, named and titled Cublai Khan, became emperor of China by conquest. Desirous of extending his sceptre to the isles of the sea, he despatched a great fleet to make war upon Japan. Chinese annals relate that a terrible storm destroyed the whole fleet, and drowned a hundred thousand men. But theorists have made another use of this storm. They represent it as carrying Cublai Khan's fleet from Asia to America, and throwing the Tartar and Chinese warriors shipwrecked upon the Oregon coast. Those of them who escaped starvation and the sea, travelled southward, and settling round Lake Tezcucó, founded the Mexican Empire.

Such is the statement which connects the ancient Mexicans with China, and deduces from the conquering Tartars the cultivation found by the Spaniards in North America.

Now it certainly requires a strong-sighted eye of historic faith to follow these Tartars and Chinese across sea and land, over mountain and river, till they arrive in Mexico. But the most inexplicable part of the transaction is, that the Tartars and Chinese in Mexico lose their language, literature, laws, arts, customs, and even their religion, and acquire a civilization that bears little or no resemblance to that of their relations in Asia. So very inexplicable does the affair appear, that I am compelled to leave it, being able to throw no more light upon it than that which shines out from the following exquisite poetic morceau :

A Chinese emperor, a long time ago,
Named Cublai Khan,
A brave Tartar man,
Wished to take Japan.
But not a man
Of all that Cublai Khan
Shipped for Japan
Ever came back again :

They were all drowned, and the rest went to Mexico.

Where is now the Mexican civilization? Who inherited it and made it the starting point of a higher cultivation? Three centuries ago it was in its glory. But Montezuma and his race have no representative; and the ancient Mexican life, laws, language, literature, arts, and government, have "gone to the tomb of all the Capulets."

VI. A sixth form of civilization appeared among the Saracens, or followers of Mahomet. By the eighth century of the Christian era, the Saracenic Empire was es-

tablished over Southwestern Asia, Northern Africa, and in the Spanish peninsula. This vast political and religious empire, extending from the Indus to Gibraltar, became the seat of the arts and sciences. A new civilization appeared in the world, and the intellect and all the passions of man received a mighty impulse. Music, painting, poetry, sculpture, literature, medicine, architecture, and the various elegancies of a cultivated life, appeared among the followers of the Prophet. The Arabians, the children of the desert, became the patrons of the fine arts. But why need I detain you with a recital of the ornamental and useful acquisitions of the Saracens? *Individually, socially, and politically*, they left their Esquimaux condition and became men—men in war, men in peace, and Mahometans in religion.

Shall we ask whence came this civilization? Did it come from Aristotle and the Greeks, or were these Arabians civilized *Saracenically*, and by force of an internal element of improvement? That their literati pored over some of the Grecian sages, and made barbaric translations of them, is quite true. But it is exceedingly questionable if the metaphysics of Aristotle and Plato, when rendered into Arabic, were promotive of Saracenic cultivation. The greater probability is that such studies rather retarded “the march of mind” among the Mahometans; for the entire cycle of Saracenic thought, art, science, and life, was peculiarly their own, and had little in common with the philosophy of the Greeks.

What became of this Saracenic civilization? Did other nations make it the starting point of a higher cultivation? No such thing occurred. When Divine Providence had served its purpose with the Saracenic Empire, it seemed also to be done with its brilliant cultivation. What was the fate of that splendid civiliza-

tion? You may trace its ghost eastward and northward. Eastward it took up its abode in the empire of Mahmoud of Ghizni; and when the Ghiznivede monarchy decayed and became absorbed into the Mogul Empire of India, its civilization departed this life. Northward, the Arabic civilization found a home among the Turks. With full faith in their genealogical knowledge, the descendants of Turk, the son of Japhet, had multiplied into vast hordes on the steppes of Asia, and overturned the northern divisions of the Saracenic Empire. The Saracens became to the Turks what the Greeks had been to the Romans, in imparting their civilization. But the Turk did not improve as the Roman had done. The genius of the Turkish Empire has not been favourable to an advancement or even preservation of the Saracenic cultivation, and its glories have become dimmed by its descent to the Ottoman. The last few centuries have witnessed its gradual decay.

VII. The last form of civilization to which I shall call your attention, appeared among the Germanic tribes of Northern Europe. By the defeat of the legions of Varus, the Rhine and the Danube became the limits of the Roman power towards the Baltic. Over the immense tract that lies north and east of those rivers, the Germanic tribes roamed for long centuries, the real Indians of the continent. Pagans in religion, and Esquimaux in cultivation, they grew numerous, bold, and powerful. Then they came forth from their northern hive, and under the names of Goths, Franks, Saxons, Angles, Burgundians, &c., overturned the western division of the Roman Empire, and spread all over Western Europe. Having destroyed their common adversary, they warred upon each other; and after centuries of fighting, mingling, conquering, and being conquered,

they became finally separated, and formed into the French, English, Spanish, German, and other European nations. This circle of nations, which may be called, by way of distinction, the Germanic family, exhibits the last and still existing form of cultivation in Europe. From this Germanic family of nations, has flowed the civilization of our own republic, into which has been congregated the most desirable elements that have been developed in the progress of the Germanic civilization. These elements, incorporated into a system, and blended with those principles of government which have been reasoned out by enlightened patriotism and extended observation, form the basis and superstructure of our civilization. In our republic also, each member of the Germanic family of nations has its children: the Frenchman, the German, the Hollander, the Spaniard, the Briton, and the Swede, all have their representatives in these United States. A branch of the Germanic civilization has been transported hither, where, planted by the wisdom of good men, and nourished by the blood of patriots, it gives promise of finer fruit than that which grows upon the parent stock. Another twig of it was carried by Peter the Great to Russia, where it has grown into a luxuriant Slavonic tree.

Whence came the Germanic civilization? Shall we search for it among the rubbish and ruins of the Roman Empire? Or shall we rather have recourse to the native *informing* element of improvement that belongs to our nature, and assert that the present nations of Europe were civilized Germanically, aboriginally, *autochthonically*? Without stopping to discuss this question, we may be aided in forming an opinion upon it by observing a few of the characterizing elements of the civilization of the Germanic nations. Among these elements we

may enumerate, first, the Christian religion ; next, the ardent love of liberty which prevails among these nations ; next, their arts, sciences, and literature ; and finally, their political organization. These elements mutually acting and reacting upon each other, have made the people of Europe and their descendants elsewhere, *individually, socially, and politically*, what they are.

Now if "light sprang from the east," if the present civilization of the Europeans and their descendants is the result of a progressive improvement which began in India or Egypt, or somewhere else, then it would be a legitimate inference that the elements of European civilization are a product, a refined and polished product or result of the civilizing elements of the nations that preceded the present Europeans.

Let us see where this leads us. Is Christianity a product or derived result of the paganism that preceded it? Is the ardent love of liberty among the Germanic nations, a product or derived result of the servility of the Asiatics and imperial Romans? Are the arts, sciences, and literature of Europeans, and their political organization, derived from the nations that preceded them? To ask these questions is to answer them. Indeed, the recent history of the world teaches us that civilization cannot be imparted merely by infusion. The natives of the south seas melt away before the civilization of the Europeans. The Indians, the aborigines of America, obstinately persisted, and still persist in savage life, notwithstanding the numerous efforts made to civilize them. Who will say that the Greeks had as favourable opportunities of receiving civilization from the Egyptians, or the Germanic people from the Romans, as the Indian tribes have had of receiving it from the Europeans? Yet, during an intercourse of three hundred and fifty years,

not an Indian tribe has been civilized. Why is this, if civilization comes by derivation? If the tendency of nations is to draw enlightened life from others, and to receive the elements of civilization by infusion, how has it happened that the American Indians will not let it be infused?

A wide survey of the history of the world informs us that the wisdom which gave to the grain of wheat its laws of germination, established a similar law for the moral and intellectual developement of man. The grain of wheat thrown upon the barren rock gives no symptoms of life. But, when subjected to the influences of the genial shower, the sunshine, and the warm earth, it is then in circumstances adapted to develop its vitality, and the inhabiting life begins to act. After a manner in some respects similar, the civilizing element within us seems to act only when we are placed in circumstances adapted to its developement. When these circumstances exist, civilization seems to burst forth as the blade bursts from the germinating grain. It would be idle to say that this similitude is perfect in all points, and still more idle to attempt to show that there are points of view in which it fails. The only object for which it is introduced is to give some conception of that germinating origin which might be attributed to the several forms of civilization we have enumerated.

But time presses, and other considerations demand our attention. Cast your eye over these several forms of civilization, and say what were the influences which operated through them all, and aided to give to the human race these several developements? Without pretending to enumerate all these influences; let me call your attention to two of them which stand out with much prominence, viz., Religion and Commerce.

Religion was an element and an influence common to all the civilizations. The Hindoo, the Egyptian, the Chinese, the Greek, and the Mexican civilizations were founded upon their respective forms of paganism: the Saracenic was engrafted upon the religion of Mahomet, and the Germanic civilization had its origin and progress in Christianity. Through all these developements the religious element was most prominent and operative, and fixed a character upon the civilization. Not to go too much into detail, I will merely mention that Christianity was the most prominent influence that gave motion to the internal element of life among the Germanic tribes, raised them from barbaric rudeness, and changed them into Frenchmen, Germans, Britons, Spaniards, &c. Christianity infixed into this civilization its indelible character, and is necessary to its life, just as paganism infixed an indelible character into the other civilizations, and became inseparably connected with their existence. Let me illustrate this by referring to the Roman Empire. The civilization of the Roman Empire was connected in its origin and progress with a pagan religion, that entered into the legislation, arts, sciences, manners, and entire life of the Romans. In the latter days of the empire, an attempt was made to cut out the pagan element from the Roman civilization, and substitute Christianity in its place. But the Roman civilization died under the operation. It is immaterial whether we attribute this death to the tearing away of the pagan religion, or to the internal corruption of the empire, or to the might of external enemies, whose muscle and spirit grew strong as Roman paganism grew weak. The fact of which we speak is undeniable: namely, that the Roman civilization did not survive the paganism which ran through it. An exhibition had been made of a magni-

ficent pagan civilization. The world had witnessed its adaptation to develop the higher capacities of human nature. The Roman Empire had then fulfilled its mission, and was no longer necessary in the general plan of moral discipline. It seemed too radically rotten to be purified even by the mighty purifying force of Christianity itself; and Providence laid it aside, and raised up from the northern Germanic barbarians the present family of European nations and their descendants. Their civilization rests upon Christianity, and receives its characterizing peculiarities from the Gospel. Many events in their history intimate, in a manner not to be misunderstood, that Christianity is inseparable from the existence of this civilization. An examination of the other civilizations would farther illustrate the truth, that the religious element is deeply and essentially ingrained into their existence.

Commerce was another influence which operated extensively in producing the several forms of civilization. Whether confined to an internal traffic, as in China, or extending to all the world, as in Europe or America, commerce has worn off the rough angles of nations, and imparted a polish to the human race. Motion, motion, eternal motion is the universal law of nature. The ocean purifies itself by agitation; the earth moves on in its unceasing course; the air moves in a whispering breeze or raging hurricane; the waters flow in a meandering stream or raging torrent: all obey the universal law of "push along, keep moving." Man receives a benefit from his subjection to the same law. Commerce shakes together the scattered fragments of mankind, and by shaking polishes them. The present nations of Europe derived their polish and release from barbarism in a great measure from commerce. When commerce

came to the rescue, the middle and lower classes acquired weight ; and the commercial cities of the north and south changed and improved the individual, social, and political condition of Europe. The rough corners of the feudal system, or rather of the iron system, were worn off by the friction of traffic. Cities, and even states, became bound together by the tough cord of interest, and the civilization of the Germanic tribes was established. A similar influence was exerted by commerce on the civilization of the Greeks, Egyptians, Hindoos, Chinese, and Aztecs. Such was the influence of religion and commerce upon the several forms of civilization.

From this rapid survey we have two results. The first result is, that the regular progression of civilization, and its derivation by one circle of nations from another, is a doctrine not very satisfactorily demonstrated by the actual events that have occurred ; nor, on the other hand, have these civilizations been all entirely disconnected with each other. A few scattered rays of light may have shone from one to another. But the laws, arts, sciences, forms of thought, and above all, the whole life of each of these circles of nations, appear to have had an internal, rather than an external origin. They came from an internal element of improvement that is infixed in our nature, rather than by infusion from without. The religion which lies at the basis of the Germanic civilization being of immediate Divine revelation, is not an improvement upon the systems of paganism that preceded it, as was represented by the infidel originators of the theory of progression. This element of our civilization, therefore, comes to us not by way of derivation from the other civilizations, nor does it spring from within. Its origin being heavenly, it is exempted from the laws which govern merely human productions, but its influence upon civili-

zation is the more powerful on account of its divine descent.

A second result of this survey is a knowledge of the position occupied by our own republic. The civilization of the United States is a branch plucked from the Germanic tree, and planted here to undergo a new growth and developement. Such is our position in the civilizing process, and such our relations to the several forms of cultivation that have appeared in the world.

As our own civilization is the one to which our attention is to be directed in the ensuing lectures, let me in this connexion point out one or two of its peculiarities. Its foundation on Christianity warrants the hope, that the Germanic civilization in which we participate, will continue till the human race has reached the fullest developement of its nature. If paganism, adapted to the impure passions of man, could give life, symmetry, and duration to the civilizations of India, Egypt, Greece, and Rome, what limit in time or space shall hope assign to a civilization, which, like ours, is based on a religion adapted to the real wants of man? The excellence of its religious basis warrants pleasing anticipations of the permanence and ultimate universality of the European or Germanic civilization. In this point of view, we, in common with our European brethren, differ from the other circles of nations which, in India, Egypt, and elsewhere, have been civilized *paganally*.

But this Germanic civilization has itself some peculiarities in our own country, that induce us to hope for it here, a higher degree of perfection than it has attained in the land of its birth. What are these peculiarities? What are the characterizing features of that part of the Germanic civilization which has been shipped to these United States? Look at our *political* organization, and

then answer. The elements of our individual and social cultivation are nearly the same as in Europe. But in our political organization, though we have in many points an affinity with our European relations, yet, in others, we differ widely from them. One of these points of difference is, that we have a representative democracy, while they adhere to the regal, or imperial, or aristocratic form of government. Another point of difference is, that we have no legally established religion, while they preserve a union of church and state. These are two peculiarities which strongly characterize our republic. A word upon each of them.

A political system without a legally established religion is a peculiarity. I call it a peculiarity, because the system of church and state not only prevails in Europe, but has prevailed in all nations, and in all ages of the world. The Roman emperor was the high priest of the pagan ceremonial, and religion was an affair of state. The Hindoo nations, the Egyptian nations, the Grecian nations, the Mexican nations, and the Chinese nations, before and after their union under that prince of federalists, Chihoangti, all alike made religion an affair of state. And so has every nation that ever raised its head into the historic horizon, the United States alone excepted. In our republic we have separated the political from the ecclesiastical government. We are an irreligious nation, but a most Christian people. We leave religion out of the terms of national union. We unite to secure the usual objects of a European state, matters pertaining to religion excepted. While Christianity lies at the foundation of our civilization, and is recognised as the guide and governor of our *individual, social, and political* conduct, its maintenance is left to the bounty of the people, untrammelled by national or state establish-

ments. Neither its purity, its progress, nor its influence, have suffered by leaving it to the popular guardianship, free from the corrupting care of national or state legislation.

But, in the democratic element is found another peculiarity of our political organization. We look upon self-government as one of the means of moral discipline, one of the system of agencies by which the human race is to be raised, and its powers and capacities developed. Democracies were tried among the ancient Greeks and others, where civilization rested upon paganism. But in our own republic, the first grand trial has been made of democracy resting upon Christian civilization. I call ours the first Christian democracy, without forgetting Holland, Switzerland, Venice, and the Italian republics, so called. These were aristocratic, or oligarchic republics, in which a few of the nobles, or most worthy citizens, managed the political machine. The popular masses, the undercrust, the bone and sinew of the country, had no influence, either directly or by way of representation. I do not say that the popular masses in these countries had no influence upon the government ; for the populace always has an indirect influence either in directing or restraining their rulers. But in the United States, the government was created by the popular masses, and is managed by them for their own benefit. The form of the government is a representative democracy. This representative form avoids the tumults of a great national mass meeting, and secures, at a small expense, all the benefits that could be gained by the actual presence of the people themselves. By this means our republic is a democracy, or government springing from the people, and managed by them. Nowhere else

under the Christian civilization has such a form been tried.

Democracy and a free religion are therefore the two peculiarities of our republic. The influences and events which made these peculiarities so prominent in the United States will occupy our attention in the following lectures. The democratic element will be the one to which our discussions will be more particularly directed.

These are the most remarkable developements of civilization that have been made in the world—this is the position of the United States among the nations, and here is the origin and peculiar elements of our own cultivation.

But let us pass to the third and last element of human history : namely,

THE DIVINE DESIGN.

The admission of a plan, purpose, or design, is of essential service in connecting together facts in the ordinary conduct of men. We are accustomed to speak of human actions as springing from a plan or design ; and this plan or design of the intelligent mind gives unity and interest to the actions performed in its accomplishment.

In like manner, the great events of the world ; the movements of nations ; the changes in the condition of masses of mankind, are clothed with new interest and unity when they are regarded as actions performed in the accomplishment of a plan or design of a Divine Governor. But how do we arrive at a knowledge of His plan ? The world moves on through ages ; generations pass over the stage ; nations come into being, and pass out of being ; the great drama continues : but how do we become acquainted with the Divine design, which

rules and produces any one part of the world's great play? We may answer that we become acquainted with it by the same kind of reasoning which leads us from the actions of a man to a knowledge of his design. In merely human affairs we reason from the actions of men to their plans and purposes, and a knowledge of their plans clothes their actions with new unity and interest. Take a historical example illustrative of our meaning.

A Chouan renegade at Paris, St. Rejeant by name, in the times of the Consulate, purchased at one place a barrel, at another a horse, at another a cart, and at another some powder, and drove about the city. Here were *actions*. A few evenings afterwards, Napoleon, going along the street in his carriage, narrowly escaped being blown into the air by the explosion of the infernal machine. Here was a result, a developement, which, being connected with the Chouan carter, showed that his design was to blow up the first Consul. When this design became known, the actions of the assassin in purchasing the horse, powder, and other fixtures, assumed a new unity and interest.

Apply this common mode of reasoning to the great events of the world, and we are conducted towards a similar result in reference to the design of the Ruler of mankind. We recognise his existence, and we regard the general movements of mankind as his system of agencies for accomplishing his purposes. We also see certain results of this system of agencies, and from these results we infer His design or plan; and we may then use this knowledge to give unity to the great movements and events of the world.

To particularize an example illustrative of this, take the history of our own country. In North America, a republic has been established, where the government

and institutions are of popular origin. Here is a result from which, without looking farther, we may infer the design of the Divine Governor of the world in reference to our country. We infer that he designed to produce this result, and so to order the movements of mankind that the Christian civilization of Europe should be transplanted to this western continent, and be here permitted to develop itself under a popular government and free religion. We may employ this *design* to give unity and interest to the innumerable facts or events connected with the discovery and colonization of America, and with the liberation and organization of our republic.

Adapting our language to the results already reached in our history, we may say that there is abundant evidence of a Divine design and plan to establish a government in our own country, on the basis of democracy and Christian civilization. We need not say, however, that this result was the one ultimately designed by Divine Providence in reference to our country, and, that for this alone, he brought about its discovery, colonization, and liberation. The establishment of democratic government here, may be merely preparatory to some grander consummation, in which the moral Governor of the world may cause our political system to eventuate. But this consideration excites a still greater interest in the events of our history. The immediate design of the Chouan St. Rejeant (a pretty hard kind of a saint), in procuring his old cart, horse, powder, and other apparatus, was to blow Napoleon "sky high." But the accomplishment of this design was merely a step preparatory to the overthrow of the consular government, and the restoration of the old line of French kings. This remoter, this ulterior design increases the interest which

is excited by the Chouan's actions. In like manner the establishment of our government and popular institutions, may be merely a step ancillary or preparatory to a grander result in the moral discipline of the race. But this ulterior and grander effect only imparts a more intense interest to the events of our history.

In thus inferentially travelling from results and the means by which they are brought about to the *design* which lies back of them, we are merely treading on the threshold of a historical theology. From the adaptation of means to ends in the organization of material things, a natural theology is constructed. The tongue of the woodpecker is adapted to its mode of life—the blubber of a whale wrapped like a cloak round its body enables it, though a warm-blooded animal, to live in the icy seas of the north where its food abounds. And so through the whole world of nature, the adaptation of means to ends, and the harmony of one organ with another, are facts by which we ascend to a knowledge of a Creator who *designed*, and *planned*, and arranged all these things. From this source we have a natural theology.

We might, in a similar manner, by pointing out the adaptation of means to ends in the accomplishment of great results in the career of the human race, construct a historical theology. But this is not within our plan. Our only object at present is to state the principle of design, and to employ it hereafter, as far as may be convenient, to give unity to the events connected with the discovery, colonization, and liberation of our country.

We have thus attempted to pass in review before you the three main elements of all human history, and to exhibit the connexion and correlation of our republic with

the nations which have preceded it, or are coexistent with it. We can now proceed to an examination of the events and influences which contributed to its organization. Before doing so, however, permit me to state the idea, that the political and social institutions of a country are never so correctly understood or appreciated as when seen in the light of their historic origin. True it is, that in going back to the discovery, colonization, and liberation of our country, we brush a little among the dust and cobwebs of antiquity. The voyage of Columbus, the landing of the Pilgrims, and even the chivalrous deeds of the Revolution, are events fast receding into the mists of past time. A *modern* antiquity is settling down upon our country: but the deeds done in the times of this antiquity are intimately connected with our present political organization, and are the *actions* performed in accomplishment of a *design* of submitting a numerous people to the discipline of self-government. We look back to the Puritans at Plymouth, to the Hollanders on the Hudson, to the Swedes on the Delaware, and to other early fathers of our land, and we sometimes think of them as of ancient patriarchs who wore queues or powdered wigs, and broad-brimmed hats, and who were accustomed, on a tranquil summer evening, to smoke their pipes and read their Bibles. But it is among those early fathers of our country that we are to seek the origin of the great social and political building which now gives us shelter.

And even if the events of this organizing time were more remote, so long as we can connect them with our present national existence or national honour, they will be to us matters of thrilling interest. For no matter what a hoary antiquity may settle down upon events, if they are connected with the origin, or honour, or glory,

of a people, they will be dear to the hearts of that people. For example, to the Jews through all their national and dispersed existence, the events of their early history have always been matters of intense interest. Joseph in Egypt; Moses in the wilderness; Joshua in Canaan; the lightnings of Sinai; the trials in the great and terrible wilderness; the frogs; the flies; the fire; the hail; the blood; the awful darkness; and the midnight cry: these are the historical phenomena which shine out everywhere all over Jewish History. The whole Divine record teems with them; and the Jew, in all his wanderings and captivities, looks back to them as glorious events illustrating his social institutions and religious faith. In like manner, an Englishman of the present day goes back fourteen hundred years to find, among the long-bearded Saxons, the origin of the present English government and English institutions: and as he runs his eye over his country's history, he finds abundant matter of interest in ancient as well as in recent events, connected with his national existence and national honour. He rejoices that the first as well as the last fire of English artillery upon French troops at Crescy and at Waterloo were alike fatal to French glory. How could the Englishman comprehend the institutions of his country without knowing something of their origin? How could he appreciate his national honour without knowing the feats performed in its preservation?

A German likewise finds matter of rejoicing and instruction in the ancient events of his fatherland. In the history of his ancestors he sees the origin of many of his institutions; and as he traces the stream of events from the obscurities of antiquity down to the brighter illuminations of modern times, he finds much to instruct and interest him. And as he runs his eye over the his-

toric map, he pauses at the field of Leipsic and exults in remembrance of the grand battle of nations, whose awful thunders, under the walls of that ancient city, announced to fighting frightened Europe

“Germany is free !”

Such events cut deep into the political and social organization of a country ; and without farther illustration we may say, that by a survey of events which originated, moulded, and established the institutions of a country, we acquire the most correct knowledge of the government and whole life of a people. To the matters then connected with the origin and organization of our republic I invite your attention. After we have examined the influences and events which produced its *organization*, we will present you a view of its practical operation. Deriving a knowledge of our institutions from this source, you will be prepared to appreciate their excellence and form rational hopes of their permanence.

LECTURE II.

PERIOD OF DISCOVERY.

The events of our history to be viewed as agencies in the establishment of democratic government—The period of discovery and exploration—The discovery rendered inevitable: I. By the political condition of Europe; II. By the state of the arts and sciences—The discovery in what respects accidental—Motives which led to the exploration of the country: I. The desire to acquire new territory—The rule of discovery; II. The hope of finding a westward passage to India—Attempts to discover such a passage—The hope of finding gold in America—Fabulous localities—Expedition of De Soto. III. The desire to plant colonies in America—Attempts to colonize the valley of the St. Lawrence—Distribution of these several motives of exploration among the English, the Spaniards and the French—Connexion of these discoveries and explorations with our Republic.

IN the present lectures we wish to use the term democracy in no contracted or party sense, but in its more original and enlarged signification, where it means a government of the people, or rather a government originating with the people and conducted by them. A democracy, in this sense of the term, is established in North America. Here is a fact; a result; an end accomplished; and a fact with which we have at present much to do.

We have already stated that the admission of a Divine plan, in pursuance of which the great movements among mankind have taken place, gives unity and increased interest to the facts of history. If we suppose that the establishment of democratic government in North America was an end or result divinely appointed, we may look forward from this design and examine how the

events in our history co-operated to produce our republican organization. Viewed in this manner, the occurrences connected with the discovery and colonization of the country, and with its political changes and republican government, are agencies by which a design or plan is accomplished, and they have consequently the unity and interest which belong to means wisely adapted to an end. Let us look therefore at the leading events of our history, and examine them as prospective contrivances, as facts and methods and expedients which pointed forward in time to the production and developement of our system of self-government.

For this purpose we will first examine the events and circumstances connected with the discovery and exploration of North America; we will then analyze the influences and means by which it was colonized; we will next review the causes of the American Revolution, and the process of our political organization; and finally, we will inquire into the growth, practical operation, and territorial extension of our republic. By such an examination you will perceive a great diversity of events and influences all directed as if by a ruling designing mind, and all converging to a single point and contributing to the permanent establishment of democratic institutions and government.

According to this arrangement, we are first to examine the events, and circumstances, and influences, connected with the discovery and exploration of the country; and this will form the subject of the present lecture.

The period of discovery and exploration commenced with the voyage of Columbus (A. D. 1492), and extended through nearly one hundred and twenty years. His expedition broke down the ocean barrier that divided the Western continent from Europe, revealed

the new world to the old, and opened an extended field for the cultivation of the human race. The northern antiquaries have recently attributed to Iceland the honour of discovering America. It is in substance asserted that about four hundred years before the expedition of Columbus, adventurers from that island sailed along the coast of Labrador, and came as far south as the harbours of New York, perhaps to the waters of the Delaware and Chesapeake. Like the spies to the promised land, they found luxuriant clusters of grapes, and commemorated their discovery, by naming their settlement in the country from its luscious fruit, Vinland. But where was Vinland? Where now grow the rich clusters of grapes? The Icelanders may have made expeditions, but their voyages to America, if ever made, resulted in no benefit to the world. They gave to Europe no knowledge of America. This great continent, with its luxuriant vegetation, its high mountains, its rivers, lakes, prairies, and dusky Indians, still lay concealed from the old world; and even Iceland forgot, if she ever knew, its existence.

Other speculators have connected America with Asia by the way of Behring's Straits, and have brought among other Asiatics the ten tribes of Israel, on a long journey across the Rocky Mountains, and changed them into Mohicans, Mohawks, and Kickapoos. A poor reward for such a long tramp!

Others have peopled America from Asia by way of the Japan Islands, and for this purpose have pressed into their service the expedition of the notable Cublai Khan, whose story you know. These expeditions to America by way of Iceland on the northeast, or by way of Behring's Straits and Japan on the northwest, though they may have occurred, yet they never made known to the old world the existence of America. That knowledge

was communicated by the expeditions of Columbus and his followers. To them and to them exclusively belongs the honour of discovering and making known to Europe that there was a western continent. The condition of Southern and Western Europe rendered this discovery towards the close of the fifteenth century almost inevitable. If Christopher Columbus had not made his voyage, some other Columbus must soon have shown the way to America. My meaning will be illustrated by referring you to the condition of the nations, and to the state of the arts and sciences in Europe at the close of the fifteenth century, when the discovery was made.

I. As it respects the political condition of the European nations, we know that towards the close of the fifteenth century, they obtained a *national* existence, and received a national organization.

Europe underwent some very important political changes in the latter half of the fifteenth century. Prior to that time there were no *nations* in Europe, according to the present acceptation of the term. We think of a nation as of a body of people dispersed over a country more or less extensive, and bound together in subordination to a single government, and having usually similar institutions and laws, and the same common interests. But previously to the latter half of the fifteenth century, there were no such nations in Europe. There were Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Portuguese, Spaniards, &c., but no nations corresponding to our present views of nationality. Feudal nobles divided Europe into innumerable principalities. Spain was parcelled out into little princedoms, numbering twenty or more. France was divided among petty dukes and counts, each independent of the rest. Germany had its herzogs and landgrafs, each of whom had his territories, where

he ruled, "monarch of all he surveyed." England, though more united than the other parts of Europe, had her earls and dukes, and counts palatine, who swayed their little sceptres over their narrow possessions. Portugal had also its powerful nobility, who ruled its different districts. And last, but not least, the bishops all over Europe became independent princes, and had their vassals, their courts, and their wars. In some of these countries a greater nobleman claimed the title of king or emperor, received an empty homage from some of his fellow-nobles ; but there his kingly authority ended. There were bishoprics and dukedoms, and earldoms and counties, with castles for head-quarters, but there were no nations ; all was local, partial, and unnational.

This condition of things began to change, and by a series of events singularly coincident over all Europe, towards the close of the fifteenth century, France, Spain, Germany, England, and Portugal, became each united into a single nation. In each of these countries a single nobleman obtained the ascendancy, and brought the rest into subjection to his authority. I say that in each of these countries a single nobleman did this ; for from the death of Charlemagne (A. D. 814) to the period of which we speak, we need take no more account of kings and emperors than of dukes and counts. The royal titles existed in some of these countries ; but they were titles without power, shadowy rather than substantial.

Each of these countries was, however, by one cause and another, towards the close of the fifteenth century, subjected to a single authority. In each country power became centralized round the throne of a prince, and in each there came forward a Chihoangti, a great federalist, who broke down the little principalities and united them into one consolidated nation. In England, Henry VII.,

in France, Charles VIII., in Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, in Germany, Maximilian I., and in Portugal, Don Henry, became the heads of authority, and nations were formed. The Italian cities of the south and the German cities of the north, became partially subordinate to one or the other of these principal nations. This fusing and smelting together of the dissociated fragments of European power into nations, occurred immediately prior to the voyages undertaken for the discovery and exploration of America. It seemed to be necessary to bring together into larger masses the disconnected particles of power before America was presented to the old world. This national organization brought together the force necessary to impel intellect, enterprise, and commerce westward. Such a concentration of European power was one step towards the inevitable discovery of America.

Another circumstance which deserves to be noticed in this connexion was the fact that just at this time the doctrine of the divine right of kings came to be an article in the political creed. In the local and fragmentary divisions of power during the feudal or middle ages, there was a pervading element of democracy. But it was democracy without extended government; democracy approaching the wild independence of the Indian tribes. Immediately upon the subjection of the nobility to the royal authority, the divine right of kings was promulgated; and Providence, as if to open the door of escape from such arrogated power, prepared the discovery of America, and pointed out an asylum for liberty.

II. The state of intellectual improvement towards the close of the fifteenth century, was also entirely favourable to the discovery of America. The arts and sciences were at that time at a point of advancement where they could be pressed into the service of maritime enterprise.

Southern Europe was the region where this advancement was most apparent. Commerce had there put forth its humanizing force, and Spain, Portugal, and the Italian cities, had attained a higher cultivation than the states and cities in the north of Europe. The magnetic needle had become known, and was applied to the purposes of navigation. Some general notions also were afloat respecting the figure of the earth. Learned men began to suspect most violently that it was spherical and not flat. Sciences, or rather speculations, in themselves visionary, had, by putting intellect in motion, caused it to stumble on many important discoveries. Astrology had directed attention to the stars, and astronomy was studied, that men might become more expert astrologers. Many of the Portuguese and Spanish princes wishing to get the most information possible out of the heavens, liberally patronized astrology, and astronomy reaped the benefit of their observatories. All sciences and arts, and indeed all things relating to life and speculation, are closely linked together. Astronomy and the magnetic needle came to the help of the sailor, and ships ventured out on the ocean with no other guide than the quivering steel in the compass-box; and the magnetic fluid furnished the means for effecting great changes in the world. Portugal took the lead in maritime adventure; and, from Lisbon, Captain Diaz sailed southward till he passed the Cape of Good Hope. The princes, the divine-right men of the newly formed nations of Europe, were also on the alert, and eager to make discoveries by sea. Feudalism had enjoyed its iron reign—the crusades were abandoned—tilts and tournaments were going out of fashion—commerce, printing, gunpowder, and Martin Luther, were about to shake the nations of the earth. Science was bursting the cerements of its medieval chrysalis state, and

trimming its wings to soar away over the oceans and into the heavens. Such a state of science, art, and government, rendered the discovery of America inevitable.

In this condition of Western and Southern Europe, Columbus was travelling from kingdom to kingdom in the fond hope of inducing a crowned head to furnish him with ships and sailors to explore the ocean. After being politely bowed away from all the palaces of Europe, he gained the ear of the Spanish sovereigns, through the mediation of John Perez, father confessor to Queen Isabella. Thanks, father Perez, for that timely interference! Democracy owes you a statue. Will not some kind artist chisel you out in marble as you stood pleading with Isabella to send Columbus floating away westward on the unknown Atlantic? The red man may curse you, but you did well. Good bye, Senor Perez.

Many grand discoveries have been, so far as human intention is concerned, purely accidental. The alchemists, for example, made valuable discoveries in chemistry. Why? Or how? By proceeding according to system? Not at all. They imagined that there was some process by which gold could be formed out of other substances; and to discover this process they fried, roasted, and stewed every beautiful and filthy thing in the world of matter. What was the result? They cooked out many useful elements from vegetable, animal, and mineral substances. But these out-cookings—these decoctions, if you prefer a Latin derivative, were merely accidental. They were not the results at which the alchemists aimed; but Providence so directed the labours of the gold-hunters, that the splendid science of chemistry was originated by their experiments.

The discovery of America was, in like manner, accidental. By saying that it was accidental, I mean that

it was not the result of system directed to the discovery, by those who engaged in the undertaking.

America was a fruit, a gem ; a thing hit upon in a tentative attempt to find out something else. It was discovered and explored in the attempt to reach India by sea. Commerce had long been carried on with the east by way of the Mediterranean, the Isthmus of Suez, and the Red Sea. The Venetians, by means of this traffic, had literally clothed themselves in purple and fine linen, and Venice was the commercial emporium of Europe. The route to India round the Cape of Good Hope was yet unknown. The Portuguese captain, Diaz, had merely ventured to the western line of the Indian Ocean, and then returned. If the earth be a sphere, said Columbus, by sailing westward from Spain, one must arrive in India. Here was the prominent geographical truth of American discovery. The inducement presented to the Spanish sovereigns to favour the enterprise of Columbus, was not the discovery of a new continent, but the discovery of a short western passage to India. Marco Polo had told of a rich country in the east, called Cathay, where jewels, gems, and gold abounded ; and imagination coming to the aid of the traveller Polo, represented all the Cathayans to be bankers, with houses full of pure solid shining metal. To find out a short passage to Northeastern China, where these hard-moneyed gentlemen had their cash, was the ardent desire of the avaricious Europeans. The operating motive held out by Columbus to Isabella was the discovery of Cathay by sailing towards the west ; Father Perez electioneered for him on this idea, and Isabella finally set him afloat for the purpose of discovering a water highway to Cathay. The discovery of America was, as you know, the consequence. But when Columbus

returned to Spain, the land he had discovered was supposed to belong to the eastern coast of Asia; the westward route to India was supposed to have been found out, and the newly discovered lands were named the Indies, and the natives were called Indians. When subsequent voyages corrected the mistake, the epithet *West* was attached to the Indies of Columbus, and the world became acquainted with the West Indies.

Such was the accidental discovery of this western continent. Providence had provided from afar the means by which it was accomplished; and the discovery, though accidental in respect to the plans and designs of men, was the result of a system of agencies established by Him.

But Columbus was not the first who discovered the continent. He had merely landed at some of the West India islands, from which he returned to Spain. The honour of discovering the main land belongs to the Cabots. John Cabot and his son, Sebastian, sailing under the patronage of Henry VII. of England, were the first European navigators who touched the coast of America. Their landing-place was far north of the boundaries of the United States, among polar snows, icebergs, and natives clothed in skins. They first touched land on the coast of Labrador, and sailed southward as far perhaps as the Carolinas.

Sebastian Cabot, under the patronage of the same sovereign, made subsequent voyages to the coast of North America, and other navigators speedily followed in his wake. The English king had patronized these voyages partly in the hope of reaching the East Indies by a westward route; but the countries discovered differed so exceedingly from the imaginary pictures of the rich Empire of Cathay, and from the fancied luxuriance

and golden coasts of Oriental Asia, that princes and seamen began to believe that the lands reached by Columbus, the Cabots, and others, were new lands which had never before been visited by any Christian people. Amerigo Vespucci published to the world the first description of the Western Continent, and by doing so, affixed his name to the New World, and gained a celebrity that may outlast the fame of Columbus and the Cabots. These princely discoverers had, however, a merit that could not have been made more known even by naming a continent in their honour. They had a leading part to act in the career of the human race, and they are prominent figures in the general landscape of humanity. Their renown is as imperishable in America as it would have been in *Columbia* or *Cabotia*.

The discovery of America revealed, we say, a new scene in the drama of the human race, and was the first of those series of providences which gave life to our republic. But the discovery itself, and the subsequent explorations of the country, were made under the influence of three prominent motives, which had selfishness for their common origin. The first of these motives was the desire of the European sovereigns to acquire new territories; the second was the hope of finding a westward route to India, or to some Cathay abounding in gold; and the third was the wish to plant colonies. Let us examine a little into the operation of each of these motives.

I. In regard to the first, namely, the desire of the European sovereigns to acquire new territories, we may say that it had a very extensive influence upon the exploration and subsequent fortunes of America. When it was ascertained that the lands found by Columbus, the Cabots, and others, were not part of Eastern Asia, the

maritime nations of Europe commenced a race for priority of discovery. France, Spain, Portugal, and England, were, at the close of the fifteenth century, the commercial nations of Europe. Portugal was first, then came Spain, while England and France followed at a respectful distance. The lordly Venetians, who, during the middle ages, monopolized the traffic of the Mediterranean, were yielding in enterprise to the newly organized kingdoms of Western Europe. These kingdoms were active in pursuing discoveries in the New World; and their haste was the greater on account of the rule they adopted respecting the right of discovery. The nature of this right of discovery and its origin are, perhaps, not so generally understood as it ought to be. Its influence on American affairs was very extensive, and it still continues to be the guide in determining the boundaries of European claims to the soil. Permit me to state the principles of this right, as it was an extensively operating element in fixing the territorial limits of our republic, and in giving direction to the exploration and colonization of the country.

The European nations, early in the period of discovery, established the rule that whatever nation discovered a new country, and in a reasonable time took possession of it and settled it, was entitled to that country to the exclusion of other Europeans. This rule became part of the European law of nations. Why? It was necessary to recognise some principle by which discoveries should be regulated; and no rule seemed more free from embarrassment than the one which provided that the nation discovering and taking actual possession of an island or tract of country, became entitled to that country to the exclusion of others. Spain recognised this rule, and so did Portugal, England, and France. This rule, when

applied to the continent of America, directed that the nation which discovered a bay or river, and took actual possession of it, became entitled to the land watered or drained by the river. For example, when Hudson discovered the Hudson river, Holland, in the employment of whose subjects he sailed, claimed the region drained by that river. In like manner, when the French discovered the Mississippi, they claimed the entire basin of that river. Hence every spring that bubbled up west of the Alleghany Mountains was within the French discovery. The Ohio, the Missouri, the Tennessee, the Illinois rivers, with the thousand other tributaries, scattered from the head springs of the Alleghany to the distant fountains in which the Red River rises, all come within the limits of the discovery. The basin of a river was a unit, a single country, each part being contiguous to the rest, and the possession of the whole being regarded as necessary to the enjoyment of a part.

This rule of discovery was adopted in practice by the commercial nations of Europe because it was a convenient one, and, in general, of ready application. Hence, for more than a century after the night when Columbus hailed the land of St. Salvador, the French, the Spaniards, the Portuguese, the English, and the Dutch, were diligent in sailing up the bays, rivers, and creeks that give figure and character to the shores of America. Wherever they landed they erected crosses, or built huts, or cut their initials into a big rock, or kidnapped a native, or burned a village, or did some other act to show that a Christian people had been there. By thus leaving their tracks on the land they visited, they signified that they took possession of the country in the name and for the benefit of their sovereign.

But straight-haired dusky Indians dwelt in America ;

and what right had the Europeans to seize upon the lands on which the Indian woman raised her hominy, and over which the Indian hunter chased the bears and deer? No right whatever; nor did the Europeans claim such a right. The rule, that priority of discovery and settlement entitled a nation to the country discovered, was not introduced to affect the natives, nor understood to have any operation upon them. It was merely a regulating law adopted by the Europeans to guide them in their conduct towards each other in regard to their discoveries. For example, when France discovered the Mississippi, the rule of priority of discovery and settlement operated to exclude other European nations from that soil. This was the whole effect of the Law of Discovery. It required that the French should be left to deal with the natives in the valley of the Mississippi, according to the French notions of justice. If they chose to traffic with those natives, they had the exclusive right, under this rule, to do so. If they chose to purchase the title of the natives to the soil, they had the exclusive right to do so. If they chose to hunt them down like wild beasts, they had the exclusive privilege to do so. No other nations had a right to trade with the Indians, or purchase lands from them, within the limits of the French discovery. If the discovering nation wronged the Indians, at their own door lay the sin. As a farther illustration of the meaning and operation of the rule, we may mention that when the Portuguese discovered the route to the East Indies, round the Cape of Good Hope, Portugal claimed the right to exclude other European nations from the Indian Ocean, and arrogated to herself, on the ground of discovery, a monopoly of the trade of the east. No European sails except her own were to be spread on the seas that wash the shores of

Southern Asia. The pearls, the diamonds, the gold, the spices, the teas, the silks, and all the trade with the pagan princes of the east, were to come to Europe in Portuguese ships. But notwithstanding these lordly pretensions, Portugal claimed no rights against the natives of Southern and Eastern Asia, and with them she stood in the relation of one nation to another. Her claims were, however, too extensive for her power, and she failed to substantiate them. The rest of the world thought that her discoveries in the east should be thrown into common stock for the general benefit of mankind.

These examples are introduced solely to illustrate the kind or extent of right conferred by discovery under the rule adopted by the Europeans. It is often asserted that they claimed the soil and sovereignty of America from the natives by virtue of the discovery, and much philanthropic rhetoric has been poured forth in condemnation of such a claim. *In theory*, no such claim was ever advanced. During the period of discovery, the European nations, like the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean, claimed by virtue of their discoveries, an exclusive trading privilege with the nations within their respective discoveries. When the period of colonization arrived, the natives were, in *fact*, dispossessed often by violence, sometimes by purchase, and sometimes by fraud. Humanity was often dealt out to them in homœopathic doses. Much commiseration was often expressed for their pagan condition, and while the tears of compassion were "trembling on the eyelids, ready to drop," the poor Indian's hunting-ground was appropriated to his European benefactor. You may have seen the caricature of one heart feeling for another. Two hearts are pictured, and out of one of them comes an arm and hand feeling for the other. This absurd picture

is a pretty fair type of the *grasping* kind of feeling which the Europeans, during the periods of discovery and colonization, exhibited towards the natives of America. But, notwithstanding these abuses of power on the part of the Europeans, many brilliant examples of pure and Christian justice are found, in their intercourse with the natives. This rule of discovery, by conferring upon the nation who discovered a tract of country the exclusive right to traffic with the natives, and the exclusive right to obtain from them the soil and sovereignty of the territory, incited the European nations to send expeditions to the New World. And yet, strange though true, it required, after the voyage of Columbus, a century to discover the Hudson, two centuries to discover the Mississippi, and three centuries to discover the Columbia.

II. The second motive above mentioned, namely, the hope of finding a westward route to India, or to some region rich in gold, was much the most effective in making the American continent known to Europe. Gold, gold, and the westward passage to India—these were the idols at whose shrines the Portuguese, the Spaniard, the Frenchman, and the Englishman, all bowed. A Yankee of the present day, believes that a pair of shoes, or a bushel of wheat, or a fat beef, or a wooden clock, is as substantial wealth as a piece of gold. Tell a Pennsylvanian that the anthracite coal beds contain ninety-nine parts to the hundred of pure diamond, and that if one part more of the pure matter were added to these ninety-nine, the whole anthracite region would become a massive, brilliant jewel, and he will, perhaps, tell you, “the coal beds are more valuable as they are.” Three hundred years ago, however, a different idea of wealth pervaded the European mind. Gold and silver, and gems and jewels, these were wealth—nothing else

was worthy the name. This false theory of political economy, is the key to the whole commercial and colonial history of Europe. In obedience to it, the sovereigns of the several kingdoms of Europe encouraged expeditions westward in search of gold. Some of them, the Spaniards for example, attempted to find this gold on the American continent; others of them attempted, by discovering a westward route to India, to get at the purses of the rich bankers of Cathay. Were we asked to name the leading characterizing motive which gave impulse to the English explorations of North America, during the one hundred and twenty years of the period of discovery, we would say that it was the hope of finding the western route to India. It was in search of this that Cabot was sent on the voyage which resulted in the discovery of continental America. Sebastian Cabot's account of his voyage, exhibits this ruling motive so luminously, that I am tempted to present it before you. In his own language, as reported by his biographers, it runs as follows, the orthography being modernized :

“ When news were brought that Don Christopher Columbus of Genoa had discovered the coast of India, (whereof was great talk in the court of King Henry the Seventh, who then reigned, insomuch that all men, with great admiration, affirmed it to be a thing more divine than human to sail by the west into the east, where spices grow, by a way that was never known before), by this fame and report there increased in my heart a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing. And, understanding by reason of the sphere, that if I should sail by way of the northwest, I should by a shorter tract come to India, I thereupon caused the king to be advertised of my device, who immediately commanded two caravels to be furnished with all things appertaining to

the voyage, which was, as far as I remember, in the year 1496, in the beginning of summer. I began, therefore, to sail toward the northwest, not thinking to find any other land than that of Cathay, and from thence to turn toward India: but after certain days I found that the land ran towards the north, which was to me a great displeasure. Nevertheless, sailing along by the coast to see if I could find any gulf that turned, I found the land still continent to the 56 degree under our pole. And, seeing that there the coast turned toward the east, despairing to find the passage, I turned back again and sailed down by the coast of that land toward the equinoctial (ever intent to find the said passage to India), and came to that part of this firm land which is called Florida, where my victuals failing I departed from thence and returned to England, where I found great tumults among the people, and preparation for wars in Scotland, by reason whereof there was no more consideration had of this voyage.”*

We can readily imagine the “displeasure” of the worthy navigator when he could find no passage leading to the golden Cathay. His representation of the motives of his voyage exhibits the earnest desire of England. His disappointment, however, did not end the search for the western route to India. Henry VIII., and after him, Elizabeth, fitted out several expeditions, and encouraged their subjects to undertake others, for the purpose of seeking this western passage. Among these adventurers, Fro-bisher was despatched, under the patronage of Elizabeth, on several expeditions, in search of the earnestly desired route. After several attempts among the icebergs of the north, he succeeded, not in discovering India, but in affix-

* *Memoirs of Sebastian Cabot*, page 10.

ing his name to a channel south of Greenland. He thus gained a name on the map of the world, and made sailors and school boys acquainted with Frobisher's Straits. After he had worn out his reputation by repeated failures, some London merchants fitted out a couple of vessels, appropriately named Sunshine and Moonshine, and sent them in A. D. 1585, under the command of "honest" John Davis, to find out the western route to India. Davis proved himself a seaman of the highest order, and made three successive voyages to the northern coast of America. He made various landings on the southwestern coast of Greenland, and passed through the straits that have been named in his honour. After buffeting the icebergs, and wandering among the freezing mists, he penetrated far into Baffin's Bay, and returned from his third voyage to communicate the disconsolatory intelligence that great barriers of ice obstructed his way. Sensible men in England began to think that the westward route to India was literally "moonshine."

But the sunshine of hope still sent its life to English exploration, and Sir Francis Drake was despatched by Elizabeth to the Pacific, with directions to search the bays and inlets on the northwestern coast of America, and find, if possible, a channel of communication between the Pacific and Atlantic. It was certainly a cunningly devised idea, that if a passage on the north could not be found from the Atlantic to the Pacific, one might be found from the Pacific to the Atlantic. Drake went on his mission; but, instead of searching for a passage on the northwest, he turned freebooter, and plundered the Spanish towns on the western coast of America.

The day-dreams of the English in regard to the western passage to India, were dreamed over again by the Dutch, who had just asserted their independence,

and who spent the last quarter of the sixteenth century in a terrific struggle with their Spanish sovereigns. Commerce poured its treasures into Amsterdam, and the Holland East India Company sent Henry Hudson in search of the long desired western passage to Asia. Arriving off the coast of Maine, he voyaged towards the south, and discovered, in A. D. 1609, the Hudson river. Hoping to find some outlet by which he could proceed to Asia, he passed up the river to the head of the tide, or perhaps farther. What a brilliant geographical idea was that of going to India by pushing a boat along by Kinderhook and Troy! The discovery of the Hudson, however, constituted the claim of Holland to the basin of the Hudson river, and brought the Dutch to settle in New York.

Passing from the service of Holland to that of England, Hudson again went in search of the western passage to India. Directing his course towards the northwest, he entered that inland ocean which has received from him the name of Hudson's Bay. Encountering incredible hardships, he wintered on its icy shores, and, full of faith and hope, prepared to renew his explorations in the spring. Wanting the faith, and not participating in the enthusiasm of their leader, his crew mutinied, and committing him to an open boat, left him to perish in the wintry and rugged sea he had discovered.¹

Such was the central idea of the English explorations of America during the one hundred and twenty years of the period of discovery. The English were not, it is true, without the hope of finding gold in America, but their attempts at gold hunting were singularly unfortunate, and had something of a ludicrous cast. Among these moonshine attempts were the feats performed by Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Frobisher, in the reign of

Elizabeth. Sir Humphrey having been sent to explore the coast of Virginia, was carried, by the thirst of gold, to the banks of Newfoundland. The "mineral man" of the expedition, a real Dousterswivel, discovered gold at this great fishery. Quietly lading their ships by night, and completely duping the French, Spaniards, and Portuguese, who were in the same region, the English sailed for home, and landed a cargo of shining metal, which proved to be iron pyrites, almost as valuable as a cargo of paving-stones. Frobisher's performance was of the same character. He carried away two hundred tons of gold-like metal from the frozen shores of the strait that bears his name, and brought it safely to London. It proved to be, like Sir Humphrey Gilbert's prize, all "moonshine."

Such feats did not dispose the English to seek farther for American gold. They preferred the treasures that were to be poured into good old England when they should discover the western passage to the golden coasts of Oriental Asia.

The leading motive of the Spanish explorations was the hope of finding gold and silver in America. In search of this they desolated Mexico and Peru. Pizarro and Cortes were mere mineral men, mere imbodiments of the ruling spirit of Spain. Their discoveries poured the precious metals into the mother country, and encouraged worthy Spanish grandees to explore the Amazon and La Plata, and drive their mules across the Andes.

It is a matter of interest to think of the imaginary regions, ways, and waters, which the early explorers for gold and silver, and the India passage, located in America. Among these imagined lands was the one called by the Spaniards Quivira. They believed that after the death of Montezuma, a prince of his family, accompanied

by a band of trusty followers, with immense treasures, retired deep into the forests north of Mexico, where they founded a kingdom called Quivira, whose capital, Cibola, was rich in gold. Many expeditions were undertaken by the Spaniards into the country north of California, in search of this golden city. They found a desolate country, but never caught a glimpse of Cibola.

A similar tradition prevailed respecting a country in South America between Brazil and Peru, where there existed a rich empire named Paitaiti. Hither the Incas of Peru had retired with their treasures, and erected a new empire. North of Paitaiti was El Dorado, a country full of gold, in search of which, Walter Raleigh undertook his adventures. His fruitless search has rendered the name proverbial for imaginary golden regions.

South of Paitaiti was a third fabulous land, whose golden capital was dignified by the name of the "City of the Cæsars." In this magnificent country, house-tiles and ploughshares were made of gold.

Such were some of the golden regions, in search of which long journeys were undertaken, and incredible privations endured. Closely allied in influence with these metallic regions were other localities, whose remarkable properties caused them to be eagerly sought after. The fountain of Bimini was one of these rare and desirable places. It was situated in the present Florida or Georgia, and possessed the property of renewing the youth of those who bathed in its waters. According to popular belief, whoever laved his mangy limbs in this fountain would be purified, and, what was still more desired, would live on in "immortal youth" in more enjoyment than is promised in the Paradise of Mahomet. The old Spanish knight, Ponce de Leon, undertook an expedition in search of this precious fountain. He traversed Flo-

rida and the adjacent regions ; but instead of the limpid fountain of Bimini, he floundered among deep morasses and frog-ponds, caught the ague, and died with disappointment.

But the flowing waters of Bimini and the rich empires of Quivira and El Dorado, were not the only objects of attraction to the Spaniards, or the only influences that sent them into North America. They aimed at territorial discovery and other beneficial results. Ponce de Leon was in Florida, searching for Bimini, in A. D. 1512. He was followed into the same region by Ayllon, who coasted as far north as South Carolina, caught a ship-load of natives, and sold them for slaves. Gomez and Narvaez followed him, and came as far north as New England, seeking for a strait or outlet through which to go to the East Indies.

But the history of discovery in North America is illumined with one magnificent expedition of the Spaniards, under De Soto. Fable has impressed its mark upon it, and the scissors of critics have almost clipped it from the pages of history. The expedition is, however, an attractive episode in the details of American discoveries, and is so much in harmony with the spirit of the age, that if it never did take place it has been wondrously well imagined, and does not present half so mythic and suspicious a figure as thousands of Cublai Khan stories detailed for general information. It merits your notice as a proper representation of the gold-hunting mania.

What is known of this expedition? By birth a nobleman, in wealth a prince, De Soto left the vines and olives of his native Spain to seek for gold in the forests of North America. A soldier under Pizarro, he had witnessed the luxuriance and shared the spoils of the

Incas of Peru. Popular credulity had peopled the forests of North America with cities and temples glittering with jewels, and rich in all that could tempt the cupidity of reckless avarice. Emulous of the glory of Pizarro and Cortes, De Soto obtained from the Spanish sovereign, the far-famed Charles V., permission to explore, colonize, and govern the lands north of the Gulf of Mexico. Accompanied by a princely retinue, he landed on the coast of Florida, in A. D. 1539. In his train came a motley mixture of women and artisans, pigs, poultry, and horses, and blood-hounds to hunt the Indians. The leaders of the army shone with trappings of gold, and the whole was a sight "goodly to look upon." Landing upon the southwestern coast of the peninsula of Florida, they marched into the wilderness in search of gold. Plunging into the depths of the forests, they carried with them the implements of husbandry, Bibles, priests, cards, and wine. They traversed the swamps of Florida, the pine barrens of Georgia, and entered South Carolina. They then turned westward, and penetrated to the waters of Alabama, which flow into the Gulf of Mexico. They descended to Mobile, fought there a bloody battle with the natives; then turned to the northwest, and reached the Mississippi. Crossing it, they made a circuit into the northwest quarter, and turning southward came to the mouth of the Red River. There, broken down with disappointment, and wasted with disease, De Soto died. Wrapped in his mantle, and cased in his armour, his body was sunk in the middle of the Mississippi; an appropriate burial for the discoverer of the great river of the west. After the death of De Soto, his little army turned westward, thinking to march by land to Mexico. They were soon in the great American desert of the south,

and in a state of starvation. Compelled to retrace their steps, they reached the Mississippi above the mouth of Red River, built boats, descended to the ocean, and thence proceeded—a miserable remnant—to the Spanish colonies in Mexico.

Such was the splendid Spanish expedition into the limits of the present United States. For what was it undertaken? To find gold, and the splendid cities with which Spanish fancy had filled North America. Mexico was supposed to be merely one of the many golden cities of the New World. In search of the others, this and other expeditions were undertaken. But disappointment cooled the ardour of avarice, and the Spaniards did not retrace the route, or revisit the burial-place of De Soto: they ceased to explore North America.

III. The third prominent motive that influenced the explorations and discoveries in North America, was the desire to plant colonies. The English visited America because it was on the way and in the way to India, the Spaniards visited it in search of gold, and the French to establish colonies. While England and Spain were in search of their two favourite objects, the French were catching fish at Newfoundland, and visiting the different points of interest in the basin of the St. Lawrence. Following up that stream they came to the great lakes, and, having obtained a general idea of the form and magnitude of those inland seas, they subsequently proceeded southwestward, and came upon the waters of the Mississippi. Following that great river “on its winding way,” they came to the Gulf of Mexico, and by these explorations became, under the European rule of discovery, inchoately entitled to the vast regions drained by the St. Lawrence and Mississippi. All this,

however, was the work of nearly two centuries; for it was in 1673 that Marquette and Joliette, the French pioneers, left the lakes of the northwest and found the father of western waters.

These explorations were, for the most part, undertaken in the hope of creating a New France in North America. The desire of the French government was to plant a colony on the St. Lawrence, which would, in itself, be a great empire subordinate to the mother country. French enthusiasm luxuriated in the vision of a vast territory in the basin of the St. Lawrence, pouring its treasures into Old France. John Verrazani was the Cabot of French discovery; but it was to James Cartier that France owed the discovery of the St. Lawrence. A commission of the French king to him and Francis de la Roque, Lord of Roberval, gave authority to establish a colony in New France, as the country drained by the St. Lawrence was christened. But their attempt was a failure, as were many subsequent efforts of a similar character. A whole century passed away, and it was not till about A. D. 1600, that Champlain, a hardy and discreet French adventurer, laid the foundations of a permanent French colony. After exploring the St. Lawrence he founded Quebec, and became the Father of New France. Lake Champlain, in the United States, commemorates his name, and France was indebted to him for her colonies in America.

In the meantime, the Huguenots, suffering at home from religious persecution, endeavoured under Coligny to plant a colony in Carolina. There, in A. D. 1562, they began to plant, to sow, and to build. But disasters overtook them, the colony was abandoned, and the only relic it has bequeathed to our own time is the name Carolina, so called from Charles IX., who then sat on the

French throne. The Huguenots made other explorations, and again settled a colony on the St. John's river, in Northern Florida. This too had an ephemeral existence and a tragic end, being destroyed by the Spaniards. The actual colonists of New France were the hardy fishermen, and adventurers who came to make gain. Religious zeal, too, sent her Jesuit missionaries into the basin of the St. Lawrence, and those adventurous fathers contributed much to the discovery of the country. Yet the hope of establishing a colony was the leading, impelling motive that brought the French to North America.

We have now presented in detail before you the three leading motives which influenced the European nations in making discoveries and explorations in North America. The desire of acquiring new territories was common to them all; but the central idea of the English explorations was that the East Indies could be found by the westward passage; the Spaniards searched for gold; and the French desired to establish a great American colony subservient to the interests of Old France. In representing these as the characterizing ideas on which these several nations acted, we do not wish to be understood as saying that no other motives whatever had any influence upon them; nor do we intend to say that these several ideas or motives did not all act unitedly upon each of these nations. The English, the French, and the Spaniards, would all have picked up gold if they could have found it, or they would all have paid their compliments to the rich Cathayans if they could have made the acquaintance of those Asiatic gentlemen. All that we wish to represent is, that the prominent motives which brought the Europeans to America during the one hundred and twenty years of the period of discovery, were so distributed that the English mainly

sought for the Indies, the Spaniards for gold, and the French for the means to establish colonies. All were ambitious of owning great regions in America.

But what connexion had these motives for visiting and exploring the western continent, with the establishment of our republic? How did the search for gold, or for India, or the attempt to colonize New France, harmonize and connect themselves with the plan or design of the Ruler of the world in regard to democratic government in America? The connexion was intimate and natural, and the harmony was the harmony of means adapted to an end. These motives to visit America, these prominent ideas respecting gold and the Indies, and colonial possessions, made our continent known to Europe, and revealed its rivers, bays, valleys, and mountains. These impulses to explore the country, and the explorations themselves, were agencies similar to those usually employed to bring about great and remote results in the movements of the human race. The masses of men act from views of present interest, or from an expectation of results that are to be realized, if possible, within the statute of limitations. In forming *their* plans of action, they do not look forward to the remote consequences, or direct their actions to the attainment of ends beneficial to mankind in general. They do not act upon extensive far-reaching plans that are to be consummated centuries after the grass has grown upon their graves. This universal benevolence may be professed, and there may occasionally be found an actual, real Man of Ross; but, in the rough and busy world, few men plant trees for the benefit of mankind in general; few men cultivate orchards with a view to benefit their descendants of the fifth generation. Present interests

and speedily realized results, are the usual motives to action.

Providence permits these motives to influence the conduct of men; and their actions then become instruments or agencies in his hands for accomplishing his purposes. Viewed in reference to the plans of Providence, the explorations of America, from whatever motive performed, were instruments or agencies similar to those usually employed in accomplishing schemes for the remote benefit of mankind. The French, English, and Spanish adventurers did not brave starvation, agues, and Indians, with a view to establish a popular government in America two centuries after their pilgrimage should be ended. They acted from motives of present interest; and the establishment of a democracy was brought about in the way of natural consequence from their actions.

This is the usual course of events. Men act from motives that are interested, temporary, and local, and Providence employs their acts as his system of agencies to bring about the ends he has planned. Suppose Sebastian Cabot, when in his older days he urged Henry VIII. to send an expedition to explore America, had presented as a motive to his majesty, the great benefit he would do to the world and posterity. Suppose the old sailor had painted before the king a vision, in which was seen the American republic, where the popular masses do the governing, where no established church grinds the conscience of the worshippers, and where an unostentatious citizen presides over nineteen millions of his countrymen with their consent, and by their votes. Suppose Cabot had urged such an end as a motive to explore America, what effect would have been produced upon the royal Englishman, with his lofty ideas of kingly prerogative,

and ecclesiastical supremacy? Henry would merely have echoed the general sentiment of the mass of mankind, if he had replied with the energy of a modern politician,

“Why talk so much about posterity? What has posterity done for us?”

Well, Henry, they have done one thing for you in particular; they have pronounced you a pretty “hard case,” though you had the heroism to marry six wives. But, though such remote, uncongenial, and undesirable results would have had little influence upon a Henry VIII., yet, when it was represented to him and his subjects that by sailing westward the route to India might be found, springs of action were touched, and ships visited North America. Gold and colonial possessions sent the French and Spaniards to the same region. Through the influence of these avaricious motives, the exploration of America was more effectually made than if the Gilberts, the Cabots, the Frobishers, the Hudsons, &c., had sailed for the single purpose of organizing our republic.

It is in this way that the interested, temporary, and local motives of men, bring about remote ends in the general course of Providence. Viewed as agencies in the accomplishment of the plan to establish a republic, the explorations of America, though springing from selfish motives, assume a remarkable unity and interest. Their unity is the unity of many separate actions, all having a prospective reference to one end; namely, the establishment of democracy. Their interest is the interest that attaches to actions done in the accomplishment of a vast, magnificent, and far-sweeping plan.

The period of discovery, during which these explo-

rations were made, extended, as I have already intimated, over one hundred and twenty years. It is not pretended that the explorations of America ceased precisely at the end of one hundred and twenty years from the voyage of Columbus ; for they have not yet ceased. But when that time had elapsed, the Europeans, and especially the English, began to entertain more rational views respecting America. They began in good earnest to plant colonies, and to look to the soil as the source of wealth in the New World. The period of discovery was, however, a necessary prelude. It was the time of visions, and the hour of preparation. To it succeeded the heroic age, the age of colonization, to whose examination we now hasten.

H

LECTURE III.

COLONIZATION BY CORPORATIONS.

Period of Colonization—Connexion of its events with democratic government—Attempts at Colonization—The first attempt is made by foreign corporations—King James's charters—I. Attempt by a corporation to colonize Virginia; success, difficulties, and final failure—II. Attempt by a corporation to colonize New England; difficulties, grants of territory, and failure—III. Attempt by a corporation to settle New Sweden—IV. Attempt by a corporation to settle the New Netherlands: The Dutch West India Company—V. Attempt by a corporation to colonize Georgia—Objects and difficulties—Successive failure of these attempts—Causes of their failure—Corporations not well fitted to plant colonies—Benefits arising from their labours, and dissolution.

WE have reviewed the period of discovery and exploration, and come next to the period of colonization. This, like the former, extended through nearly one hundred and twenty years. For the effective colonization of our country began about A. D. 1610, and was continued at different times, and at different points, till about A. D. 1732, when Georgia, the youngest of the ante-revolutionary colonies, was planted.

In the previous lecture, we stated that the apparently disconnected discoveries and explorations of North America were, by reference to the general results already developed, connected together as acts in the system of agencies by which our republic was established. The numerous and apparently disconnected attempts at American colonization, are also intimately connected with the same result; and though they were in themselves separate, fragmentary, dissociated events, having on the

part of the actors no reference to the organization of an extensive, united government, yet they so harmonized, and so wrought together, that they became parts of the same system of agencies, and concurred in ultimately producing the United States. It is true that the events of American colonization are very disconnected—one colony was planted in the south, another in the north, and others were scattered along the Atlantic coast; the colonists came to the wilderness under different leaders, had different prospects, and formed different communities. But unity in the midst of diversity is a law of nature, which extends alike through material things and moral events. In the structure of the plant there are roots, and branches, and bark, and leaves, and wood, and pith, all combined, and contributing to the growth and developement of the tree. The sap passes through its appropriate channels, the bud swells, the leaf expands, the flower blooms, the fruit appears, and the sprout grows into a tree. Here various expedients are provided and employed to accomplish a single end. In like manner, the events of the period of American colonization were diversified, numerous, and various; but they were combined into a single system of agencies, and contributed to the production, growth, and developement of our republic. They too were expedients—various and diversified expedients—provided and employed to accomplish a single end. They had a prospective reference to the establishment of democratic government in America; and here again allow me an illustration from material things. The eye is formed, before birth, in the dark recess of the head; but in its organism there are lenses, and coats, and humours, and nerves, forming an apparatus evidently designed to reveal the glorious tints of light that colour and beautify the heavens

and the earth. Who can deny that the eye is a prospective contrivance? Who does not believe that it is formed with reference to the world that is to be revealed at birth? After a manner in some respects similar, the old thirteen colonies had, in their origin, a prospective reference to another state of political existence. Their powers—their uses—the ends they were to subserve in the general movements of mankind, began to be more fully revealed at that birthday of freedom, the American Revolution.

Let us examine the colonization of America, in reference to this subsequent national existence. Let us see in what manner the influences and events connected with the origin and progress of the colonies became agencies in the accomplishment of the plan to establish a republic. We can perform this task most readily, by directing our attention to the several kinds of attempts that were made to plant and govern colonies in America. Were we to classify these attempts according to their nature, the arrangement would be as follows:

First, Foreign corporations tried to plant and govern colonies in America;

Second, Feudal nobles tried to plant and govern colonies in America;

Third, The crown tried to plant and govern colonies in America;

Fourth, The people, the masses, independently of foreign corporations, feudal nobles, and the crown, tried to form colonies in America.

The old thirteen colonies originated in one or other of these four kinds of attempts. It is obvious, that if corporations, or feudal nobles, or the crown, had succeeded in planting and governing these colonies, democracy would not and could not have become triumphant.

The success of the fourth attempt at colonization—the attempt of the popular masses—was essential to the production of the ultimate result, the establishment of popular government. That this result might be reached, it was necessary either that the popular masses should do the colonizing, or that they should enter into the labours of the corporations, the feudal nobles, and the crown. In fact, both these events happened. The popular masses did succeed in forming colonies, and they did oust the other three classes of colonizers from their possessions, and appropriated their labours. The corporations failed, the feudal nobles failed, and the crown failed in their attempts to put themselves and keep themselves at the head of American colonies. The fruits of their toils and expenditures passed into the hands of the fourth class of colonizers—the popular masses.

In classifying the attempts at colonization into the four classes just enumerated, we have reference to the nature of the attempts, and not to the order of time in which they were made. In point of fact, the attempts of the popular masses were in origin nearly synchronal with the attempts of the corporations. And the whole four were going forward at the same time, sometimes one occupying the largest share of attention, and sometimes another. When, therefore, we refer to these attempts as the first, second, third, and fourth, we must be understood as speaking of them in the order above adopted, and not as intimating that the one preceded or followed the others in a chronological order.

That we may have a correct view of the operation of each of these attempts in originating our republic, we will call your attention to them a little in detail. In doing so, however, it may be well to premise that they will be frequently found to run into each other; so that

colonies which were commenced by a corporation often pass into the possession of the crown, or of the popular masses ; and so of the others. But preserving, as far as conveniently practicable, the order, or classification above stated, we will review the several attempts at colonization in the order now mentioned ; and first :

FOREIGN CORPORATIONS TRIED TO PLANT AND GOVERN
COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA.

By foreign corporations, in this connexion, is understood corporations whose members did not reside in the colony. If such corporations could have colonized America, the New World would speedily have been filled with inhabitants from Europe ; for, by the commencement of the seventeenth century, the English had grown weary of their search for the western route to India. The visions of the French, in regard to the establishment of a great colony in America subservient to the interests of the mother country, crossed the British Channel, and became by A. D. 1600 the visions of the English, whose attention was now turned to the soil of America, and projects were formed in England for creating colonies on this side of the Atlantic. Corporations were the agencies through which these colonial projects were sought to be realized, and commercial cupidity was the immediate moving influence. In obedience to its impulse, adventurers sought the means of enriching themselves from the soil and fisheries of America. Application was made to the English king to lend “ the light of his countenance ” to the enterprise, and in A. D. 1606, James I. affixed the royal signature to a document as extraordinary as any that the world ever saw. This was a charter incorporating Sir Thomas Gates, and certain other loyal and dutiful subjects, into a company, to

which the charter granted the soil and sovereignty of a belt of North America, extending from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth parallel of latitude, and reaching from the Atlantic coast away westward to the Pacific. Look at the map, and you will see that this grant extended on the Atlantic border from South Carolina to the middle of Maine, and had a western appendage as long as the tail of a comet.

But what right had the royal Scotchman to give away North America to corporations or individuals? The right of discovery. But admit that England had a right to North America by discovery, how came it that the English parliament had no voice in granting it away? Why did King James take the matter into his own hands, and give away the country at his pleasure? Here is the centre of the great truth which stood out so prominently at the American Revolution. The English kings, like the colonists at the Revolution, asserted that countries newly discovered by English subjects belonged to the crown, and that parliamentary legislation should be limited to matters within the realm. Hence, when the Cabots, sailing from England, discovered North America, the discovery, according to the language of those times, enured to the king's benefit, and was at his disposal. King James accordingly regarded America merely as a great farm, whose acres he could dispose of at his will without consulting parliament; and hence, of his free grace and mere motion, he gave away, of the new continent, a belt of eleven degrees, embracing a country capable of sustaining the one-third of the human family.

This, it must be admitted, was a pretty liberal donation; but, in making it, the English sovereign merely followed the custom then prevalent in Europe of giving away

immense tracts of the New World, without inquiring particularly into their extent or value, or into his own right to dispose of them. The Roman pontiff had, more than a century before the incorporation of King James's mastodon company, kindly divided the world between Spain and Portugal. His Holiness supposed a line to be drawn from the north to the south pole, and running near the ports of Cadiz and Lisbon. Spain was to have all newly discovered countries west of this line, and Portugal all east of it. This, it must be confessed, was a pretty liberal division; but King James's grant was only a little more modest than this partition of the pontiff.

I. Through the agency of this English corporation was commenced the first colony in the United States. The corporation itself was divided into two companies, one of which was to occupy itself in colonizing the southern, and the other the northern part of the grant. The southern company, known as the London company, immediately commenced operations. Under their directions, a ship bearing the first emigrants to a permanent English settlement in America, entered the waters of the Chesapeake, in A. D. 1607. As a compliment to the English sovereign, they named the capes of this bay, Henry and Charles, the names of the sons of King James. They sailed fifty miles up a river, to which they gave the name of James's River, in honour of their sovereign. They landed in the wilderness, and commenced a town, to which they gave the name of Jamestown, also in honour of their sovereign. How many of their children they named James, in honour of the same king, we know not; but the care taken by the corporation to propitiate their sovereign by these little pieces of flattery, exhibits their anxiety to retain his good will, by minis-

tering to his vanity. These names which are still retained, are a lasting memorial of the auspices under which our republic commenced.

The landing of these emigrants at Jamestown was the commencement of the old thirteen colonies. One hundred and five colonists there began to build these United States. To say that disease, want, despair, and rapid mortality attended their first attempts, would be a statement of facts that occurred not only in Virginia, but in nearly all the early colonies of America.

We have represented that to this corporation the king transferred both the soil and sovereignty of the territory described in the grant. This absolute property and sovereignty was not indeed fully conveyed in the first form of the charter; but that document within a few years underwent several modifications and enlargements, by virtue of which the free and absolute ownership of the soil, as well as the right to govern it, was vested in the corporation. To that body was committed all authority over the plantations within their territory. I have made this statement with the more explicitness, for the purpose of saying that to a corporation belongs the honour of the good, and the blame of the evil which attended the early steps of the Virginia colony.

The evils which the colony suffered from being under the ownership and government of a corporation were, the want of political privileges, exposure to the rapacity of their masters, the bad government of faithless agents of the corporation, and, generally, all the vexations and injuries which flow from an absolute subjection to a body without a conscience.

The benefits which the colonists derived from being under the ownership and government of a corporation, may be referred to their individual rights and political

privileges. In respect of individual rights, the emigrants were at first the servants of the corporation, and had no private property in the soil. They laboured in common, and brought the fruits of their toil into the storehouses of the corporation, and received in return all that they produced, and a little more. The corporation finding this a profitless business, changed their system, and transferred lands to individual colonists in private property. Immediately a new state of affairs appeared. The colonists already in Virginia began to work in good earnest; others embarked from England; industry increased, and population began to stream into the new colony. In respect of political privileges, the emigrants, upon their first arrival, were subject to the absolute government of the corporation; and their governor appointed by the company in England, combined, in his single person, the four great functions of lawgiver, judge, jury, and executive. His imperial authority was occasionally restrained by a council, whose members, like himself, derived their appointment from the corporation. Under this system, a bad man in the governor's chair was a terrible scourge, and a few bad men happened to get there; a good man in the same station was a blessing devoutly to be desired, and Sir George Yeardley, a good man, was placed there.

Under his administration the political tyranny of the corporation came to an end. By his permission, though without the authority of the corporation, the colonists assembled by their delegates, and were admitted to a share in the government. Here was the commencement of the legislative liberty of the future republic. It occurred in June, A. D. 1619; the year and the month deserved to be commemorated.

The corporation in England, when informed of this

ebullition of liberty in their American dominions, were not surprised that Englishmen should so act, and they rather approved than annulled the action of the spontaneous assembly. To get money—honestly if they could—but to get money was the leading motive of the corporation. The soil and sovereignty of their American territory had been sought after for this purpose. When they thought that, by granting land to colonists in private property, their own gains would be speedily increased, they granted land in private property; and now, when it appeared probable that, by confirming the action of a popular assembly, the colony would improve, and the gains of the corporation be increased, they first permitted, and afterwards established, such an assembly; for in A. D. 1621, they gave to the colony a written constitution, which became the model of a similar instrument in many of the subsequent colonies. By this constitution the corporation were to appoint a governor and council, and the colonists were yearly to elect members to a legislative assembly. The members of the council were to have a seat in the legislative assembly, where all laws pertaining to the colony were to be enacted, the governor having a veto, and the corporation in England reserving to themselves a negative upon the whole legislation. Notwithstanding these vetoes, no law or ordinance proposed by the governor or corporation, was to affect the colony till it had passed the legislative assembly.

Such was the liberation of the Virginia colonists. When this liberal constitution was granted, the work of the corporation was at an end. They had expended money and treasure in the commercial speculation of planting a colony; and gave to their colonists private property and political privileges, in the expectation of reaping a

more abundant harvest in return. But these golden anticipations were never realized. The colony poured no wealth into the treasury of the corporation. That body became dissatisfied; it attempted a few acts of oppression; it quarrelled with the king; became odious to the public; and then, like other actors whose business in this world is finished, and whose decrepitudes render dissolution a mercy, it received intimations that its days were numbered. Though still clinging to life, it was dissolved by King James, A. D. 1624. He had made it, and now he unmade it, and entered upon its labours. In fact the crown took the place of the corporation, and sustained to the colony the same relation which had been held by that body; the king continuing to appoint the governor and council, and the colonists to elect their legislative assembly in pursuance of the constitution derived from the corporation. The crown deemed it most prudent to confirm to the colony the popular liberty it had received from its first owners.

The troubles of Charles I. left him little leisure to torment the Virginians; and by the time that Cromwell had run his race, and the English monarchy was restored, the population of Virginia had so increased in number, and were so ardently devoted to their system of colonial legislation, that the subsequent British sovereigns, down to George III., generally permitted the popular legislative assembly to exercise the same authority which it had under the corporation. It is only necessary to observe farther in this connexion, that the Virginia legislature were in a continual quarrel with the governors sent them by the crown through the one hundred and fifty years that preceded the American Revolution. But, through all that time, the Virginians jealously guarded their liberties, and generally considered them-

selves entitled to all the rights of Englishmen ; their legislative assembly being their parliament, and the King of England their king.

We have been the more minute in this detail, inasmuch as we desired to present a clear and well defined view of the agency of a corporation in planting and giving form to the oldest of the old thirteen colonies. Though the motives of the corporation centered in commercial gain, yet these motives, by leading to the establishment of private property and political privileges, contributed directly to the organization of a democracy in America. By coming between the crown and the colonists, the corporation granted to the people of Virginia more liberty than was consistent with the arbitrary notions of the Stuart kings. But when the disappointed hopes of gain were about to bring the corporation into conflict with its colony, and perhaps abridge its liberty, an arbitrary king came to the rescue, dissolved the corporation, and perpetuated the democracy that had been formed in Virginia. Could any plan have been devised by which, under the existing views and motives of men in England, a more democratic result could have been obtained ?

In this summary analysis of the doings of the corporation, our attention has been drawn away from the singular fortunes that attended the colonists themselves. In regard to individual character, the age when this work of colonization began was a singular age. The world was passing, or rather had passed, from the contests of chivalry to the contests of interest ; and while a mammoth corporation was seeking to enrich itself from the New World, the individuals employed to accomplish its designs were many of them men of the most chivalric character and Christian wisdom. To introduce one of these

individuals by way of episode may reveal, in a luminous view the character of the men by whom the corporation for Virginia established its colony. Such an individualizing is also in harmony with our general plan; for sometimes a man appears who is the type and representative of a whole age, and in whom is imbodied in concentrated energy the spirit that moves through vast masses of men. Such a man becomes truly a historical character. Of such men the world has seen a few; England had her Alfred, Europe her Charlemagne, China her wall-building federalist Chihoangti, and Virginia her Captain Smith.

Smith—John Smith—Captain John Smith, was the pioneer and ruling spirit of American colonization. By nature a gentleman, by profession a soldier, and by education a scholar, he imbibed the adventurous spirit of his age. An Englishman by birth, and a traveller by choice, he sought for military glory in the armies of Holland. A cavalier in spirit, from boyhood a lover of adventure, he travelled over France and Italy, and sought for fame in fighting in the Hungarian armies against the Turks. Captured in war, he was sold for a slave in the market of Constantinople. With an iron collar on his neck, and a flail in his hand, he threshed wheat for his Mahometan lord on the plains of Crim Tartary. Cruelly oppressed, he slew his master, and fled, like Moses, to the wilderness. Wandering over the deserts of Russia, he regained his freedom, and again drew his sword in the wars on the northern coast of Africa. Returning to England, the projected colony in Virginia recalled new visions to his ardent spirit; and embarking with the first emigrants, he landed with them in the wilderness on James River. Acquainted with human nature in all its forms, and gifted with what John Locke

calls "strong sound roundabout common sense," he became the main pillar in the rising colony.

The emigrants to the new colony were hard subjects to deal with; many of them being dissolute, broken-down, idle vagabonds, real Botany-Bay scape-graces, whom the corporation had bought up and shipped for America. Thrown among such gentry, Smith found use for all his talents and energies. Upon him devolved the task of "coaxing on the stubborn ones and pushing on the lazy."

"When you send again," he wrote to the corporation, "I entreat you rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers-up of trees' roots, well provided, than a thousand of such as we have." In this advice was contained the main truth of modern political economy, that labour is the true source of wealth. Mechanics and "diggers-up of trees' roots" were to be the real colony planters; this truth, plainly perceived by Smith, laid the foundation of colonial prosperity in North America. A mania for gold-digging had seized upon the colonists; and during a temporary absence of Smith, they left off planting and building, and spent their time in shovelling up iron pyrites and washing it for gold. The corporation also in England directed him to seek for a passage to India by travelling up some stream that ran from the northwest. Deriding alike the India and gold mania, but willing to travel, he ascended the Chickahominy, and explored the country to the Susquehanna; he surveyed the waters of the Chesapeake, ascended the Potomac, and was the first Englishman who trod the barren lands where Washington City now stands. Passing from the Chesapeake to the northern parts of the territory of the corporation, he visited the

harbour of Boston, the Merrimack and Piscataqua, and gave such a glowing description of the country, that the English sovereign conferred upon it the name of New England. Returning to Virginia, his energy and good sense healed the colonists of their gold-delirium, and directed them to the cultivation of the soil. The venerable trees on James River were hewn down; the diggers-up of trees' roots arrived from England, and corn, tobacco, and wheat, took the place of the oak, the hickory, and the persimmon. The soil, under his direction, became the true gold-mine of the country, and he assured his employers, the corporation in England, with the most profound gravity, that the Pacific Ocean could *not* be reached by sailing up the James River.

An accidental explosion of gunpowder inflicted a wound which deprived the colony of his guardianship. He returned to England; and the hero who had exposed his head to the war-club of Powhattan, was neglected by his employers. The father of American colonization is a lasting witness that corporations are bodies without souls. How could such soulless masters direct the destinies of democracy in the New World? It was impossible. The general plan of Providence no longer required the action of such a body; their mission to North America was fulfilled; and the London company was accordingly dissolved in A. D. 1624.

II. The second attempt by foreign corporations to plant colonies in America, was made in New England. This region, you will remember, was included in the territory granted by King James to his mastodon corporation; but the branch of that corporation whose operations were to be confined to the northern part of the grant, did nothing. The London company alone succeeded, and King James took the ground that the

northern part of this grant reverted to the crown, on account of the neglect of the company, whose business it was to plant colonies in it. He accordingly, in A. D. 1620, created another huge corporation, to which he transferred the soil and sovereignty of North America lying between the fortieth and forty-eighth parallels of latitude, and named in the charter, New England. This comprehensive grant included all the country from the St. Lawrence to the southern border of Pennsylvania, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Such were the limits of New England. The corporation to which this immense territory was given was known as the Plymouth Company, so called from Plymouth in England. But at the date of the charter, the only inhabitants in the territories it described, were Indians and wild beasts. The charter directed, in substance, that the Indians should be Christianized and the wild beasts caught for the benefit of the corporation. All the bears, deer, foxes, beavers, *fish*, and Indians, were transferred to the company, to be used for their benefit. If the charter had only transferred to the corporation the soil and land animals, New England might have had a different destiny; but the exclusive right to catch fish in the rivers and along the coast of New England, proved the ruin of the corporation. The House of Commons opposed the monopoly of fish. The king resisted their interference, on the ground that America was his own property, and not subject to the control of parliament. A contest ensued, which rendered the corporation odious, and paralyzed all its energies; and it made only a few expensive but fruitless efforts to colonize its territories.

But it was not by corporations that the roots and brambles on the Penobscot and Connecticut were to be conjured out of the ground. Other influences were des-

tinged to plant New England. The despotic power of the corporation was feared; and so many obstructions were thrown in its way by the commons on account of the exclusive fishing privilege, that it did little more than grant away its lands to subordinate companies and individuals; but it went to the work of giving away its territory with profuse liberality. To Mason and Gorges it granted Maine; to Rosewell and others it granted Massachusetts; to the Earl of Warwick it granted Connecticut and Rhode Island; to Mason it granted New Hampshire; and to the Pilgrim Fathers it gave a place for their colony. Having, by these grants, stript itself in the space of eighteen years of much of its immense territory, the Plymouth corporation sank into a lethargy, and disappeared from the world. Its charter was revoked in A. D. 1639, and its remaining lands, embracing the regions of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and the country west of them to the Pacific, reverted to the crown.

So far as any effective colonization was concerned, the Plymouth corporation was a failure. It was in its origin a mercantile company, established for the sake of gain, and having its immense territory in America as the place of its operations. New England was, however, destined to be the theatre of a colonization springing from other influences than those of gain. That these influences might have free scope, the mercantile company distributed its lands, and conferred rights upon the colonists which the crown would not have granted. Its work was then done, democracy no longer needed its agency, and it was laid aside.

III. The third attempt at colonization by a foreign corporation was made by the Swedes on the Delaware. Sweden had been raised by the talents of Gustavus

Adolphus to the first rank among European nations. His superior intellect saw the benefits to be derived from commerce ; and at his recommendation, though not till after his fall at Lutzen, a commercial company was incorporated for the purpose of trading westward from Europe, and planting colonies in America. About the year 1638, this company sent a band of colonists, consisting of Swedes and Fins, who entered the Delaware bay. They purchased from the natives the soil on the western side of that river, from the sea to the falls at Trenton ; and began a colony named New Sweden. This territory included the present state of Delaware, and the south-eastern counties of Pennsylvania. The principal settlements of the Swedes were near Newcastle and Philadelphia ; at these points an industrious and religious people began the work of colonization. Magnificent visions had floated before the mind's eye of the great Swedish Gustavus, when he looked from the battle-fields of Europe, to a Swedish colony in America, and saw in the New World a happy and truly religious people. Had that hero been spared, New Sweden on the Delaware might have become the centre of a wise and virtuous nation. But a commercial corporation having the destinies of the colony in its hands, and not wishing to defend what it might be unprofitable to preserve, permitted it to fall into other hands. In A. D. 1655, about seventeen years from its foundation, New Sweden was conquered by the Dutch, and annexed to their colony of New Netherlands.

Here ended the colonizing efforts of another corporation.

IV. The fourth attempt at colonization by a foreign corporation, was made in the valley of the Hudson, by the Dutch West India Company.

Sailing in the employment of the Hollanders, Sir Henry Hudson, in A. D. 1610, discovered the Delaware Bay and Hudson river. Not being able to reach the East Indies by the North River, he returned to Europe; and Holland, by virtue of his discovery, claimed the country drained by the Hudson and Delaware, a territory to which she gave the name of New Netherlands. In a short time a few adventurers from Amsterdam found their way into the valley of the Hudson, and opened a traffic with the natives; but Holland, in its national capacity, did not undertake the colonization of this North American discovery. Her maritime operations, though very extensive, were in general committed to chartered companies; and, pursuant to this corporation system, she created, in A. D. 1618, a Dutch West India Company, to which she gave, among privileges, the exclusive right, so far as she could give it, to plant colonies on the coast of America from Greenland to Cape Horn. No Hollander, unless by permission of this corporation, could traffic or settle along this extensive coast.

To this company was committed the soil and sovereignty of the New Netherlands, with authority to plant colonies and govern them. Holland, as a nation, reserved no control over the colonists, nor did she undertake to defend them against foreign enemies; they were to look to the corporation for their political privileges and protection.

Like other commercial corporations, the West India Company aimed solely at gain, and more particularly at the gain to be acquired by depredations on the South American commerce of Spain, the nation with which Holland was then waging its war of independence. To plant colonies was only desirable in so far as it would

enrich the corporation. The New Netherlands presented a prospect of colonial gain, and the company established colonies on the Delaware and Hudson. To render them productive, it was necessary to have them well populated; and to induce an influx of population, it was necessary to present motives to settle the territory. Accordingly, to him who should plant a colony of fifty persons, the company offered a tract of land sixteen or twenty miles square, of which he should be the owner and governor or Patroon. Many settlements were made under this provision, of which the anti-rent troubles in New York are the fruits. The New Netherlands thus became the theatre of speculation, and plantations were made on the Delaware, along the coast of New Jersey, and in the valley of the Hudson.

But the colonists, the real workers, "the diggers-up of trees' roots," in the New Netherlands, had neither property in the soil nor political privileges. The patroons of the large estates were the owners of the soil, and the company had the government of the colony in its own hands; it enacted the laws, appointed the governors, and gathered a tolerable harvest of profit; but the people, the mass—what mass there was—had nothing to do with the government. Such an arrangement was not consistent with the creation or growth of democratic government; and the institutions of Europe, in the most intense forms of their servility, seemed on the eve of being transplanted to America, and firmly rooted in the rich valley of the Hudson.

Many of the governors sent by the company were, it is true, excellent men, among whom we find the good-hearted Walter Van Twiller, and the worthy Stuyvesant. But something more than good governors was needed to make a democratic government. The cor-

poration had brought colonists to the country; and when that work was accomplished, the connexion of the company with the colony was ready to be dissolved. But that their dissolution might promote the cause of free government, it was necessary that some preliminary measures should prepare the way and put the colonists in a condition to profit by a change of masters. Accordingly, throughout the New Netherlands an attempt was made to establish a popular assembly similar to the one which had been established in Virginia. Deputies from each village in the colony assembled, and desired to obtain a share in the government; but Stuyvesant, who then held the reins, had not the wisdom of Yeardley, the mild and patriotic governor, by whose connivance Virginia became a popular government. He obstinately resisted the movement of the people, and informed them that his authority to rule the New Netherlands was derived "from God and the West India Company, and not from a few ignorant subjects." His conduct was approved by his employers.

This was the critical hour of free government. Had Stuyvesant granted the request of the colonists—had the West India Company acted with the prudence of the London Company—the New Netherlands might long have continued under the control of a corporation. But this arrangement might have stood in the way of the ultimate liberation and union of the American colonies. Holland, in the valley of the Hudson, would have separated New England from the south. Happily Stuyvesant was not Yeardley. When he informed the colonists that the source of his authority was God and the West India Company, the people replied in substance, that God had conferred upon them also certain rights, which they intended to maintain. This lesson they had been taught

in part by their Puritan neighbours, and, in part, by the innate democratic nature of man, which in America has always been gifted with a voice.

After the refusal to admit the people to a share in the government, the colonists became desirous to free themselves from the dominion of the corporation; and lent a willing ear to propositions from the English to subject themselves to England, on condition that they should be admitted to a share in the management of the colonial government. The democracies of New England were too alluring to permit a neighbouring nation to remain the boors and serfs of a foreign corporation.

While the New Netherlands were internally in this state of agitation, they were exposed to encroachments on the north and on the south. Massachusetts and Connecticut were, by their charters, permitted to extend westward to the Pacific; but if these states extended westward to the Pacific, where would the New Netherlands be? On this subject quarrels arose between the New England colonies and the West India Company. England was at peace with Holland; but to strike a blow at a powerful commercial rival, English ships of war were despatched to the Hudson. The colonists of the New Netherlands refused to risk life in the contest. They desired to make no sacrifices for the benefit of their masters, the West India Company, and that company was unable to protect them. To the corporation the New Netherlands were merely property; and upon an estimate of the cost of defence, the company resolved to preserve what they could by negotiation, and lose the rest. The New Netherlands accordingly surrendered to the English, upon condition that the colonists should have their private property confirmed to them, and be permitted to have a representative assembly similar to that

of Virginia. The English king accordingly took the place of the West India Company in A. D. 1664, and the colonists obtained the privilege of freemen.

Such was the office performed by a foreign corporation in the colonization of the valleys of the Hudson and Delaware. Ridicule has been directed against the Dutch governors and the early settlers of this region. But there were most worthy and patriotic men among them; and, under a better system of colonial government, they would have been esteemed the worthy fathers of a rising nation. Liberty among the masses of men was, however, unknown in Holland. That republic was a republic of nobles and commercial cities, and not a republic whose liberties extended to the "diggers-up of trees' roots." The enslaved class, the boors of Holland, were, however, the men most useful among the trees and saplings and bushes of the New World. But when they came to the Hudson they were still enslaved, and only gained the first state of freedom when the colony passed into the hands of the English,—a transfer in which the colonists gladly acquiesced.

V. The last attempt at colonization by a foreign corporation was made in Georgia. This attempt I mention here by way of contrast with those already enumerated. The corporations which attempted to colonize Virginia, New England, and the New Netherlands, were commercial companies, whose end was gain, and whose means were colonies. But the corporation which commenced Georgia originated in charity, and was designed to perform a work of protection and benevolence. It was in A. D. 1732 that George II. chartered a company to plant a colony between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers. At the head of this corporation stood the humane and sagacious Oglethorpe. The work to be per-

formed by this corporation was a work of defence, inasmuch as it was the design of the English monarch to plant a colony which would be a protection on the southwest to the other American plantations: it was also a work of charity, inasmuch as it was the design of Oglethorpe and his companions to remove to the colony the impoverished debtors who were languishing in the jails of England. The members of the corporation were in reality trustees for this charitable purpose. But, like the commercial corporations, the company for Georgia were the legislators and governors of the colony: the colonists themselves were to have no voice in making their laws, or in executing them. How would such a project harmonize with the general plan of establishing a democracy in America? The facts that accompanied the work of Oglethorpe in Georgia answer the question.

Oglethorpe was appointed governor of the colony, and accompanied the emigrants to their new home; but he was soon called upon, like his great prototype of Virginia, to exert himself in "coaxing on the stubborn ones and pushing on the lazy." The sweepings of English prisons made indifferent colonists; and, in order to mingle them with characters of a more elevated nature, invitations were given, and inducements held out to the adventurous spirits of Europe, to make their home in the rising colony of Georgia. In consequence of these invitations, other colonists arrived. From Germany came Moravians, under the patronage of their leader, the worthy Count Zinzendorf, and settled on the Savannah; from England came Methodists, headed by Wesley and Whitefield; and from Scotland came Highlanders, with their plaids, their targets, and their broadswords, and settled on the Altamaha. Silk, corn, and rice, were grown on the sea-coasts, and along the valleys

of Georgia; and Oglethorpe became the guardian and father of the colony, fought the Indians on the west, the Spaniards on the south, prohibited the introduction of negro slaves, and maintained comparative harmony among the discordant materials under his charge.

Notwithstanding these favourable auspices, the colony languished. Oglethorpe returned to England. The colonists were turbulent and dissatisfied. The corporation grew careless of the trust committed to it. Its work was done when it had planted and fostered a seedling for democracy; and in A. D. 1752, wearied with its profitless, thankless task, it surrendered its charter, and the crown took its place in the government of the colony. The colonists, upon the change, were admitted to a share in the government; and by a legislative assembly enacted their laws, with the approbation of a governor appointed by the king.

We have now reviewed the several attempts at colonization in America which were made by foreign corporations. The successive failure of each of these attempts intimates very significantly, that the establishment of democracy in America required the speedy abrogation of the government of corporations. I say that democracy required the speedy abrogation of such government; for in order to establish a prosperous republic in America, it was necessary to have prosperous colonies of which it should be composed, and in which men might be drilled and schooled in self-government. But the government of a mercantile corporation is adverse to colonial prosperity, and does not admit a large amount of liberty to the colonists. It is, perhaps, the worst of all colonial governments; has the least sympathy with its subjects; and is in general the most hostile to the interests and democratic notions of the people.

When we allege these objections against the dominion of corporations, we must not be understood as asserting that they have always in all their forms and phases been hostile, and are in their nature hostile, to popular government. The contrary has often occurred. In the march of the European race from isolated barbarism to their present civilization, corporations were agencies of efficient and essential service to liberty. In the middle age of European history, the merchants and tradesmen of a town, by uniting in a corporation, could resist the rapacity of barbarous chiefs. When nations began to be formed in Europe, the kings, by incorporating towns, raised up a power to balance the turbulent nobility. In these cases corporations served the cause of good government; they aided to bring up the popular masses; they introduced the third estate—the commons—into the legislature; and what little participation the people had in the government they derived through corporations. So far they were promotive of democracy.

But there was another class, called commercial corporations, which had an opposite influence. When commerce winged her way over the oceans, and revealed the riches of distant countries, commercial operations were committed to chartered companies. In Sweden, in France, in England, in Holland, and in other countries, corporations were created and clothed with authority to enjoy the soil and sovereignty of distant regions, to colonize them, to traffic to them, and to make gain from them. East India Companies, West India Companies, South Sea Companies, and many others of all grades and powers, attempted to monopolize the commerce of the world, and, as subservient to this end, to colonize vast territories. Such corporations have an influence adverse to the democracy of their colonies.

The hope of gain being the ruling principle—the sun in the heaven of the corporate system—the rights of the colonists, both civil and political, are estimated in gold and silver. If by respecting these rights more gain can be probably made, they will be respected. This occurred in Virginia, when the London company gave that colony a liberal and written constitution. If, on the contrary, the corporation believes that by unconditional servitude its colony will yield the most profit, unconditional servitude will be imposed, and maintained if possible. This occurred in the New Netherlands when Stuyvesant repelled the request of the people to be admitted to a share in the colonial government, by informing them that he derived his authority from God and the West India Company. The same event has occurred in Hindostan, where the British East India Company has established an absolute authority over one hundred millions of subjects, who serve the purpose of colonists.

From these considerations you will scarcely hesitate to conclude, that the establishment of republicanism in America required, among other preliminaries, that the colonies should enjoy freedom from the government of such companies. We accordingly find that foreign corporations failed in all their attempts to establish and govern colonies in North America. The long continuance of the Hudson Bay Company, which has already lived through nearly two centuries, is not an exception to this assertion; for that is a trading, and not a colonizing corporation.

Such were the events connected with the attempts made by foreign corporations to plant and govern colonies in America. Do not these events exhibit a prospective reference to a future republic? Were they not

contrivances, means, agencies, expedients, all adapted and providentially designed and directed to establish popular government? Such an end, such a design, accounts for these events. No other does.

We will, in the next lecture, resume the consideration of the other attempts at American colonization.

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LECTURE IV.

FEUDAL COLONIZATION.

Attempts at American Colonization by feudal nobles—I. First of these attempts in Maryland—Plan of Calvert: liberty of conscience and political privileges—Results of his attempt—II. Attempt at feudal colonization in New Jersey and New York; its failure—III. Attempt at feudal colonization in Pennsylvania; its character—Becomes merged in democracy—Penn, and his plan for a colony—IV. Attempt at feudal colonization in the Carolinas; its results—Locke's constitutions—Character and results of all these attempts—Attempts of the English sovereigns to put themselves at the head of American colonization—The two ideas which were the cause of these royal attempts: I. Inalienable sovereignty; II. Perpetual allegiance—These ideas unsuited to the condition of affairs in the colonies—Successfully resisted by the colonists—Failure of the royal attempts to control the colonies.

IN our last lecture we examined the attempts at colonization in North America which were made by foreign corporations, and exhibited these attempts in their prospective reference to the organization of our republic. We now come to the other efforts which were made to colonize America, and it remains to examine them in their relations to democratic government. The next of these efforts was connected with the feudal system, and in regard to them we have the general statement, as follows: second,

FEUDAL NOBLES TRIED TO PLANT AND GOVERN COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA.

By feudal nobles, in this connexion, I wish to designate those individuals whose American possessions were in the nature of feudal principalities. Some of these

individuals, as Calvert and Carteret, enjoyed noble titles in Europe ; and others of them, as William Penn, were in reality feudal nobles by virtue of their American territories. To give a passing idea of the usual connexion between a feudal prince and his people, we may remark that in the middle age of European history, the landed possessions of a chief constituted a little kingdom or principality, over which he ruled. The tenants of his lands were his subjects, and from their labours and rents he derived his revenue. For them he established his courts or legal tribunals, made laws, appointed judges, and, in a word, embraced, in his single person, the legislative, judicial, and executive branches of government. Such a chief was frequently and usually bound to some kind of obedience and service to another and higher chief, and that higher chief to another still more powerful. But over the tenants—"the diggers-up of trees' roots,"—in his territory, each chief was a king, or rather acted the part of a king towards them ; and they obtained from him such rights and privileges as his weakness or humanity induced him to yield, or as their power could enforce. This subordination of one chief to another constituted the feudal system ; and this sovereignty of a chief over his principality, while he owed service or obedience to another chief, constituted a feudal noble.

Such a system of authority and dependence would seem to have little sympathy or community of feeling and interest with popular institutions ; nor is it very apparent in what manner such a system could be pressed into the service of republicanism. Feudal nobles did, however, attempt to establish colonies in North America, and endeavoured to fashion them after the model and similitude of feudal principalities. But the work, in

several cases, fell into the hands of men who were imbued with an excellent spirit, as were Penn and Lord Baltimore, and whose willingness to promote the welfare of the human race, and other circumstances of great influence, very materially modified the feudalism that was imported to the New World. So much was it modified that it lost its distinctive European form, and in its new home speedily yielded its position and its works to the growing power of democracy. Let us examine a little into the attempts at feudal colonization in America, and we will then perceive how they became subservient to republicanism.

I. The first of these attempts was made in the colonization of Maryland. By the dissolution of the London company in A. D. 1624, the English crown became reinvested with its original title to the territory which it had granted to the corporation for colonizing Virginia. Out of this region King Charles in A. D. 1632 granted to Sir George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, the country between the Potomac and the fortieth parallel of latitude; a region which received the name Maryland in honour of Henrietta Maria, the English queen. To erect a principality and become its feudal lord, was the political part of Calvert's design in procuring the grant; and, in accordance with this object, the charter conveyed to him the soil and sovereignty of the territory, and gave him the nominal place of lord of the domain. The yearly rent of two Indian arrows was the service by which the Prince of Maryland acknowledged the sovereignty of the English king. Except this badge of obedience, Maryland was an independent principality, and Calvert its owner and sovereign, whose authority extended to carve out manors and inferior principalities within his territories, and to establish chiefs or nobles subordinate

to himself. But beside the political part of his design, Calvert had another and a higher object in planting the colony of Maryland. He looked abroad upon the condition of the world; saw the privations of his fellow-men, and their earnest yearnings for religious and political liberty, and resolved to establish a government where these noble desires could be gratified. This resolution materially modified the feudalism of his American principality, and liberty of conscience and political privileges—those two leading elements of our republican system—were secured to the colonists of Maryland. A word upon each of these provisions will show that the plan of Lord Baltimore, though it contemplated a feudal colony, contained, nevertheless, the living seeds and very core of democratic government.

(1.) The first of the provisions just named, which Calvert introduced in his plan of the Maryland colony, viz., liberty of conscience in religion, was a new and, in those days, most extraordinary regulation to introduce into a government. I call it new, because no such charity, or, rather, no such wisdom and justice had before his time been exercised in Christendom. It was reserved for Sir George Calvert, who was in religion a Catholic, and at heart a lover of mankind, to insert in the charter of a projected government, a provision that no man professing Christianity should be molested for his sectarian preferences. Christianity was established as the religion of the colony, but Catholics and Protestants of all denominations were left in the full enjoyment of their religious faith. We give to Calvert the credit of announcing to the world this plan of toleration; for it was by him that the charter for Maryland was drawn up. The provision itself was also an extraordinary regulation in those times. To appreciate it according to its

merits, we must draw our attention away from the tolerant opinions of the present day, and enter into the feelings and religious views of the men who lived in the times of James I. In that "lang syne" time, now two centuries and a quarter past, political ideas, and the whole current of religious thought, which had come down through many generations, were directed to an exclusive sectarianism in Christianity. That age was most stringently sectarian in regard to the religion of the state. At the very time, too, when Calvert was planning for his American principality an equality of all Christian denominations, the continent of Europe was covered by the surges and foam of the 'Thirty Years' religious war; and, in the same year in which his charter was dated (1632), Gustavus Adolphus, the hero of the Protestant world, perished in the hour of his glorious victory over the armies of the Catholic league. Was it not an extraordinary movement in such an age, and at such a juncture, to lay the foundation of religious liberty? Yet, this was the movement which Calvert made in behalf of his projected colony of Maryland. Had he done no more for mankind than give prominence to the single idea of a tolerant Christian state, he would have merited the gratitude of our republic. For our government has established in substantial, practical, glorious reality, what he projected for his own territory.

(2.) The second provision which modified the feudal character of Maryland, was the establishment of a representative legislature. I have just mentioned that the tenants on the land of a feudal lord frequently obtained from their master certain rights and privileges, which were exacted either by their power or flowed from his generosity. These privileges often extended to a considerable share in the administration of the government

of their lord : such as voting money for his use ; giving their assent to the changes which he proposed, &c. In the projected colony of Maryland a similar liberality appeared, and, though it was feudal in form, the privileges of the inhabitants were recognised with much precision ; for Calvert had defined in his charter the limits of his authority, and the rights of the colonists. No tax was to be imposed without their consent, and no law made without their approbation : in a word, the colonists were to be admitted to a liberal share in the government. When the government was organized, Lord Baltimore, or his deputy, was governor ; a council of colonists, summoned by special invitation of the governor, formed an upper house, and representatives elected by the people formed a lower house of legislation ; bills were passed by the two houses, and when sanctioned by the governor became the law of the colony. These democratic provisions rendered the charter of Maryland dear to the inhabitants ; they were proposed by Calvert—they came not from the rising spirit of oppressed feudal slaves, but flowed from the wisdom and justice of a man who delighted to see mankind enjoy their ardent and generous desires.

These two provisions, viz., liberty of conscience and a representative assembly, were most material modifications of the feudalism of the colony. They were, in fact, the corner-stones of our republic, the powerful support of the whole fabric. Maryland, it is true, became in some features a feudal principality ; the civil offices were in the gift of Lord Baltimore ; in his name the laws were executed, and justice administered ; he was the prince and hereditary governor of the colony ; but the liberty of conscience and the popular assembly were democratic elements which absorbed the feudalism, and

prepared the colonists for the full enjoyment of republicanism.

Calvert himself was not permitted to enter into this land of promise and hope. He died before an emigrant reached his new principality; and his titles, possessions, the colony of Maryland, and a portion of his spirit, descended to his son. The inheritor of the estates and virtues of the father, by a long life of wisdom and perseverance extending over forty years, firmly established the colony.

But the sunshine of peace did not continue without interruption upon the rising province. Difficulties frequently occurred. The crown for a time usurped the government of the colony; but with a few interruptions Maryland preserved its democratic elements down to the Revolution. Through all this tract of time, the people of that colony were reducing to practice the first lessons of republicanism which had been taught them by the founder of the colony. They sometimes attempted to dispense with their feudal lord, but the time for absolute freedom had not yet arrived. The feudal element of a hereditary prince, therefore, continued to co-operate with the democratic element of a legislative assembly.

We do not say that this attempt at feudal colonization was a failure; but the features of the colony were so modified, that feudalism was lost in republicanism. Democracy availed itself of the benevolence of Calvert, and while it lived in the freshness of its own youthful vigour, it paid respect to the memory of the worthy and excellent founder of Maryland, and left a few of the harmless forms of a feudal principality remain on the shores of the Chesapeake.

II. The second attempt at feudal colonization to which I would call your attention, was made in the New

Netherlands, or in that tract of country which contains the present states of New Jersey and New York. When this extensive province, which embraced the valleys of the Hudson and Delaware, was taken from Holland, it was transferred by the English king to the Duke of York. This prince, who figures in English history as the tyrannical and fugitive James II., was authorized by the royal grant to hold and govern this territory as a feudal principality. Reserving to himself the present state of New York, he granted to two noblemen, Carteret and Berkeley, that portion of this possession which now composes the state of New Jersey. The New Netherlands were thus divided, but each division was subjected to a similar kind of authority, and attempts were made to colonize and govern them as feudal principalities. Let us look a little into the success and results of these attempts, beginning with New Jersey.

The hope of gain, combined with the pride of territorial sovereignty, induced the proprietors of New Jersey to make vigorous exertions to bring inhabitants into their projected colony. Knowing the allurements of popular government, they gave to their province a very liberal constitution. The two democratic provisions established in Maryland reappeared in Jersey—all Christian sects had full liberty of conscience, and a house of representatives was provided, in which the colonists were admitted to a share in the government. The policy of these provisions soon became manifest; for immediately it was whispered abroad in the world that the Quaker, the Puritan, and the Republican, could enjoy in New Jersey their rights of conscience and their theory of government; and emigrants came, hoping to obtain the benefit of these privileges. Puritans came from New England, Quakers from Old England, Calvinists from

Holland, and Republicans from Scotland ; the sea-coast and valleys of New Jersey soon teemed with a numerous population ; and for a time all things went on prosperously.

By-and-by, however, Berkeley and Carteret began to exhibit the feudal side of the charter. They sent to collect the rents which they had reserved in transferring lands to individuals in private property. But in this they were flatly refused ; for the colonists had come to enjoy liberty, not to pay rents. A series of contentions arose between the proprietors and their tenants ; and it was soon found that there were strong anti-renters in those days as well as in these. Democracy in government and toleration in religion had, in the meantime, taken deep root in the minds of the adventurous men who came to be the “ diggers-up of trees’ roots ” in New Jersey. Various and unavailing expedients were resorted to by the proprietors to preserve their authority and collect their revenue. They divided the province, and formed an East Jersey and a West Jersey ; but still they could not maintain their authority. They sold their rights of soil and sovereignty to well-meaning, honest Quakers ; but neither could these doers of justice and lovers of peace maintain their feudal sovereignty over the sturdy yeomen of their territories. There was only one condition upon which the people would be contented : and that was the condition of full liberty to manage their own affairs in their own way. They contended against all forms of restriction from external authority, and particularly against the feudal rights which were asserted over them.

At last, wearied with the fruitless quarrel, the proprietors of New Jersey transferred their rights of sovereignty to the English crown ; and Queen Anne, who

then swayed the English sceptre, united the Jerseys into one colony, and it became a royal province. In this political condition it received a governor and council from England, who, in conjunction with a legislative body elected by the people, made the laws and administered the government.

In this attempt at feudal colonization, the emigrants to New Jersey exhibited a more refractory spirit than had been manifested in Maryland. The attempt, however, developed the elements of popular government, and exhibited the democratic ideas which governed the conduct of the colonists.

In New York, matters took a position apparently less favourable to liberty. That province was reserved for twenty years in feudal subjection to its lord proprietor, the Duke of York. Promises of political privileges had been made to the colonists to induce them to shake off the yoke of their masters, the Dutch West India Company, and place themselves under the protection of England. But when the valley of the Hudson was set apart for a feudal principality, these promises were forgotten, and the province continued under the slavery of an arbitrary lord. No representatives of the people were admitted to a share in the government; the governor of the Duke of York, and his council, were lawgivers and judges, and constituted the entire government of the province. When the people demanded a legislative assembly chosen by themselves, their feudal lord stated divers objections to such bodies; among which was the short and very intelligible one, that "he could see no use for them."

Events in another quarter of the world, however, prepared the way for admitting the colonists of New York to a share in their government. A change of dy-

nasty was effected in England: the Duke of York had ascended the English throne; and, after overthrowing many of the liberal institutions of his country because "he could see no use for them," he provoked an opposition which precipitated him from power and chased him from his kingdom. When that revolution was completed, his province in America renounced his sovereignty, and proclaimed the new English king, William III.; the crown took the government of New York, and the feudal principality became a royal province. The consequences of the change were, that New York obtained a house of representatives, and her colonists were instructed practically in the same democratic school which had been established in the other colonies.

III. The third attempt at feudal colonization in America was undertaken in Pennsylvania. The eastern part of this province had been included in the New Netherlands, and consequently was embraced in the principality of the Duke of York; but by purchase from him and by charter from Charles II., William Penn in A. D. 1682 acquired the soil and sovereignty of the province of Pennsylvania, and proceeded to erect it into a principality.

As the attempt at feudal organization was here made by the best of men, the origin and fortunes of Pennsylvania, in its colonial life, exhibited all that feudalism could do for liberty. In Pennsylvania, as in Virginia and Maryland, the life and character of one individual was a luminous commentary upon the colonial history. Instead of going into the more dry details of colonial organization to show what feudalism did in Pennsylvania, let us arrive at the same result in another way. Let us look at the plan of the colony in connexion with the life and character of its founder; let us go behind

the curtain ; let us see the secret springs which moved the actors ; and we can then form a correct estimate of what feudalism did accomplish and was capable of accomplishing in the organization of our republic.

William Penn gave a province to our nation, and gained a reputation as enduring as our republic. Attached to the Society of Friends, he embraced their doctrines with an ardour and an intelligence which have seldom been surpassed. Educated at an English university, he became acquainted with the political system of Europe ; and wishing to study humanity in its actual developements, he travelled abroad. Desirous of making converts to the creed of his sect, he preached and taught the people in Holland and along the Rhine. Believing that God is to be loved because he is God, and virtue to be practised because it is virtue, he abhorred all laws forcing men to believe a particular creed. Acknowledging, with the founder of his sect, that God in the soul is the standard of truth, he maintained the doctrine that the human race have equal rights. Asserting that, in private virtue and public conduct, men are directed by a divine illumination, he proclaimed freedom as the birthright of his race. In *his* creed, freedom was an essential element of man's nature : without it, men cease to be men. These doctrines, the product of thinking minds, have circulated from Penn and Barclay through the philosophies of Europe. Those humble Quakers struck out forms of thought which have been the model and the marrow of the most intellectualized systems of modern times.

These elemental truths were the basis not only of the religious, but also of the political system of Penn. From the relationship of man to the Creator ; from the divinity that is within us, he arrived at the political creed which

teaches man's right to share in his own government. From the divine illumination of man he reasoned out the utter unrighteousness of religious intolerance. He believed in man's capacity to enjoy and exercise religious rights, political rights, and civil rights. In a word, he had faith in humanity; and adopted the Protestantism of politics, which teaches that man can govern himself, and of right ought to govern himself, independently of the hereditary claims of kings, and of their pretended divine right.

Despairing of realizing in Europe his glorious visions of the freedom of the human race, he turned his eyes to the wilderness of America. Attached to a sect that was persecuted by a licentious court, he sought for a region of the Western World, where religion should be free from the bulls of an established church, and government exempt from the curse of a corrupt monarch. His purchase and charter made him the owner or proprietor of the region west of the Delaware river, contained in the present states of Delaware and Pennsylvania. In 1682, he came to his wilderness territory.

But what kind of a government would this man of liberty and peace erect? How could he be feudal lord and his tenants freemen? His actions in the New World harmonized with his previous character, and show that he was disposed to respect the rights of all men. From the Indians he purchased their claim to the soil, and laid the foundation of his province in justice; the counties composing the present state of Delaware were erected into a government; Philadelphia was laid out, and the organization of Pennsylvania was commenced.

True to his religious creed and political faith, he established a most liberal form of government, and his faith in humanity caused him to leave the colonists much

to their own direction. His provisions for his projected colony were such as the following :

Full toleration was provided for all Christian denominations :

A legislature, consisting of a council and house of representatives, was to be chosen annually by the colonists :

The subordinate officers of the government were to be elected by the people.

These were purely democratic provisions ; but there was one anti-republican feature : the office of governor was hereditary in the family of Penn. By this he was a feudal lord, and the province was his principality. This could not well be otherwise ; for, if he had laid down that office, if he had abandoned the head of the government, his principality would have reverted to the king, and Pennsylvania would have become a royal province. Feudal law, as then understood in Europe, would have required such a reversion ; but it was more desirable that Penn should remain the aristocratic head of his principality, and he did remain. The feudal element was here again placed beside the democratic element, and the latter prevailed.

This very democratic constitution of Pennsylvania conferred upon the colonists more real freedom than was to be found anywhere else in the world. Liberty of conscience and political privileges rendered Pennsylvania an asylum for the oppressed of all creeds and of all politics ; and emigrants gathered into the province, where the persecuted of every sect and the fugitives of every faction which disturbed the Old World, blessed the high-minded, calm, and benevolent Quaker who had provided them a refuge. Was there in this liberal organization no adaptation, no fitness, no reference, to our prospective

republic? Or did not this colony rather become a nursery of democracy? Suppose the elements of human nature and the state of the world, as it was two centuries and a half ago, had been shown to the most acute political speculator, and suppose the question had been asked him, "How, from these materials, would you organize in North America a democratic government," what answer would he probably have made? Without a suggestion of the means which have actually been employed, he might have replied, "The project is impossible." Suppose, however, he had penetrated a little into the future, and had seen the father of Pennsylvania landing his colony on the Delaware, and had seen the same good man stripping old feudalism of its priestly and kingly robes, and putting them upon young democracy: suppose, I say, he had seen the benevolent Quaker doing all this, would he not have considered the problem of an American republic as already resolved? would he not have pointed to such colonies as the agencies or materials out of which a great nation of freemen might be readily constructed?

From the description we have given of the democratic features which characterized Penn's colony, it might be supposed that the colonists were perfectly satisfied with their government. In fact, however, the contrary occurred. Difficulties appeared, whose roots were nourished in the decaying rubbish of the imported feudalism. Penn was the proprietor, and the office of governor belonged to him and was hereditary in his family; here was a feudal element; a lordly power entirely at war with the democratic elements of the province. From these heterogeneous elements sprang a long, bitter, never-ceasing quarrel, which ran through nearly a whole century of Pennsylvania history, and only terminated

with the American Revolution. The governors of the proprietor quarrelled with the legislature, and the legislature with the governors ; their interests were different, their powers sprang from different sources, and they could not and did not harmonize ; and the last feeble feudal element was destined to fall before the progressive movement of popular government.

The proprietor of Pennsylvania did, however, a great service to the cause of liberty. His biography is an abiding monument of a good man ; but his attempt to subject popular institutions to the guardianship of feudal sovereignty was a failure. The popular institutions were created, but the authority of the proprietor could not be maintained. His descendants, it is true, retained a nominal supervision of the colony ; but, when the Revolution was preparing to sweep away the relics of aristocratic institutions in the New World, the feudal supremacy of the proprietor of Pennsylvania was a name which a legislative act blotted out.

IV. The last attempt at feudal colonization in America to which I will direct your attention, was made in Carolina. In A. D. 1665, Charles II. granted to eight of his favourites the country in North America between the thirty-sixth and twenty-ninth parallels of latitude, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. This vast territory, named Carolina, and reaching from Virginia to Florida, was transferred in soil and sovereignty to these proprietors ; and authority was given to them to colonize it, and govern it as they might desire. It was their wish and intention to erect this American possession into a feudal empire ; and they accordingly undertook to devise a form of government which would secure this end.

The celebrated Earl of Shaftsbury, one of the eight

proprieters, called to his aid the English philosopher, John Locke ; and the courtier and metaphysician planned for Carolina a constitution of a very peculiar structure. Believing neither in innate ideas nor in innate principles, Locke rummaged the records of past generations, and devised a form of government which gave promise of securing to the proprietors absolute authority. Imitating the feudal models of Europe, the lawgivers provided that the territory should be divided into counties, baronies, and manors, and be portioned out among nobles with names "to match." The charter from the king permitted the creation of a Carolina nobility, with the restriction, however, that the English titles should not be appropriated to them. The Indians had caciques, the Germans had landgraves, and the charter made mention of proprietors ; these were titles unknown to English heraldry ; and grades of nobility under the names of proprietors, landgraves, and caciques, were accordingly devised for the principality of Carolina. The East Indies also furnished the idea, not of transmigration, but of castes : and castes were provided for in the constitution. Professions and wealth were to be hereditary ; a tenant was to be always a tenant : he was to be a fixture, an oak-stump, a thing attached to the soil ; and his children after him, to all generations, were to be similar stumps. All legislative, judicial, and executive power was given to the nobility ; and the people, the tenants, "the diggers-up of trees' roots," were to have no substantial part in the administration of the government.

Such was, in substance, the project by which the feudal forms and institutions were to be transferred to Carolina. But could it be expected that a colony in America would prosper under such a political system ? The projected organization contained absurdities which

had long been fought against in Europe, and experience soon demonstrated its inapplicability to Carolina.

The province into which this mimicry of feudalism was to be introduced was not, at the date of the charter, entirely without inhabitants. Adventurers from Virginia, from New England, and from the West Indies, had established a settlement on the sea-coast, in the region which is now North Carolina; and, assuming the right of self-government, they had enacted laws for their colony.

In A. D. 1670, the philosophical constitution of the proprietors in England was perfected, and shipped for North America. But the hardy emigrant among the pines and Indians sneered when told that he was become a subject in a feudal principality. "Better," said he, as he dangled his bearskin cap, and listened to the philosophic rigmarole, "better have log-choppers and root-diggers here than caciques and landgraves." The attempt, however, was made to subject the colony already formed to the government of the proprietors.

At the same time a new colony was planted by the proprietors in the part now known as South Carolina. Emigrants were brought by them to the Ashley river; Charleston was founded; and the proprietors looked with hope upon their rising principality. They liberally expended money in the enterprise, and believed that the seed they were sowing in the wilderness would yield them a bountiful harvest. But when they attempted to establish their feudal constitution, they were opposed with a determined resistance. The northern colony and the southern colony were separated by a wilderness of three hundred miles; but they both resisted, with the energy of freemen, the government proposed by the proprietors. A long contest ensued, in both the settlements,

between the inhabitants and their sovereigns. Good governors and bad governors were sent from the proprietors, and received the same reception from the colonists; all being resisted. Sothel, in the northern settlement, oppressed the colonists, and cheated the proprietors who had sent him to govern in their name; while Colleton, in the south, was perhaps a better man; but, governing with the rank of landgrave, he became a tyrant, and was chased from the country. The proprietors abrogated their feudal constitution, re-established it, altered it, amended it, modified it, and metamorphosed it in every possible manner, and yet it always received the same determined opposition in both colonies. The inhabitants were as blind to its worth as James II. had been to the liberal institutions of his country; they "could see no use for it." They did not wish for landgraves or caciques under any name or from any source; they had gone to the wilderness to enjoy liberty, and they did enjoy it.

Wearied with their unavailing efforts to force or coax the colonists into subjection, the proprietors in A. D. 1729 abandoned their enterprise, and retransferred their immense territory to the crown. When their work was done, and they ceased to torment the inhabitants, the king assumed the government; the northern colony was separated from the southern, and thus North and South Carolina came into being.

This was the last effort at feudal colonization in North America. Its failure demonstrated that the worn-out and decaying institutions of Europe were inapplicable to the New World, and could not be perpetuated there. It also made known that the American colonies had a destiny different from subjection to a feudal lord.

We have thus given a hasty review of the attempts

at feudal colonization in America. These attempts, you perceive, were made in Maryland, in New Jersey, in New York, in Pennsylvania, in Delaware, and in the Carolinas. In these colonies the feudal or aristocratic element was brought into the presence of the democratic element. The best of men and the worst of men here tried to put themselves at the head of affairs; and in Maryland and Pennsylvania were exhibited, in bold relief, the grandest structures which feudal colonization could erect. In these provinces the feudal lords were mere schoolmasters, who taught the people how to be free. When the lesson was given and reduced to practice, the mission of the teacher was at an end.

In Carolina and New York the process was different; but the result the same as in Pennsylvania and Maryland. In Carolina and New York feudal lords, instead of being teachers, tried to become masters; they endeavoured to be over the people, not of them; they spurned the humble office of *leading* the colonists to liberty; they *drove* them to it. If Penn and Lord Baltimore, having faith in humanity, made political privileges the basis of their colonial government, the people took what was offered, and asked for more. If, on the contrary, the Duke of York and the proprietors of Carolina could see no use for popular assemblies, the people could see no use for feudal lords; and, while the feudal lords were in Europe, the people were on the soil, and busy in the work of republicanism. Hence, one result was common to all the feudal colonies: namely, the people obtained the ascendancy, and learned to govern themselves.

When the projectors of these colonies desired to establish manors and baronial castles, and govern in North America as European nobles governed their principalities, the people resisted. A more ultimate result, the organi-

zation of our republic, required that the colonists should acquire skill and confidence in taking care of themselves. They needed practice; they needed to be tried in a variety of circumstances; and the essays at feudal colonization put several colonies in a position to practise self-government.

Were not these attempts at feudal colonization prospective contrivances? Were they not agencies, means, arrangements which pointed forward in time to those grander results, which began to be announced to the world at Bunker Hill?

We pass on to another series of efforts to gain the ascendancy in colonization: third,

KINGS ATTEMPTED TO PUT THEMSELVES AT THE HEAD OF AMERICAN COLONIES.

Foreign corporations and feudal nobles expended money in leading emigrants to the New World; but the English sovereigns kept their treasure, and endeavoured to get colonies in another way. They rather imitated the eagle in his unroyal habit of depriving the fish-hawk of its fish: they looked patiently on till others had formed colonies, and then attempted to get possession of them. Corporations risked money, nobles risked reputation, and private individuals risked life in planting colonies in America; but when they had built log-cabins, grubbed up roots, and sowed the seed, kings tried to reap the harvest; and the English sovereign, from time to time, attempted to become the head of the several American colonies. Let us examine a little into the process of these attempts; their motives, their results, and their connexion with the organization of our republic.

We do not wish to be understood as saying that the

English kings were always wrong in their interference with American colonization. We merely say that in that colonization kings were not the leaders, the money-payers, the men through whom the work was accomplished; but when adventurers came to this Western World, and laid the foundations, then kings tried to build. We have seen an exemplification of this assertion in the transactions connected with the origin of Virginia. In A. D. 1624, King James dissolved the corporation whose exertions originated that colony, and changed it into a royal province. By this change he became the king, or head of that colony, and exercised his authority through a governor of his own appointment. His son, King Charles I., made an attempt to obtain a similar authority over New England. His troubles at home, however, recalled his attention from America, and left the colonies to take care of themselves. James II., with his exalted notions of royalty, endeavoured to reduce all the colonies to his own arbitrary rule, and to govern them as appendages to his crown. Charters granted to them by his predecessors were abrogated by him; and he actually united into a single province all the region from the Delaware to the St. Lawrence, including the Jerseys, New York, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts. To this province the name New England was given, and Andros, a name famous in colonial history, was sent to govern it. Similar designs were meditated with respect to the southern colonies; but the English Revolution of A. D. 1688 deprived James of his throne, and his kingdom of New England was redivided into its separate provinces.

Similar attempts were made by William III. to seize colonies planted by others. He deprived Penn of his

government of Pennsylvania, and tried to convert it into a royal province ; he took possession of Maryland in disregard of the rights of the proprietor, and governed it by a deputy of his own appointment. Pennsylvania was in a few years restored to its owner, the Quakers being found a peaceable, but most impracticable people ; but Maryland remained during a whole generation under royal tutelage. Massachusetts, on the contrary, received from William in A. D. 1691 a charter which gave to the colonists of that province a large share in the management of their government ; it remained, however, so far in subjection to the crown as to receive a royal governor. The same sovereign, by contract with the proprietors, obtained the government of New Jersey in A. D. 1702.

In the reign of subsequent kings the Carolinas and Georgia also became royal provinces. Thus, seven of the thirteen colonies came into the possession of the English sovereign ; and kings, who had borne neither the labour nor the expense of planting colonies, attempted to reap upon the ground sown by others.

What were the reasons or inducements which sent the English kings so repeatedly to seize upon the colonies, and dispossess the people, the corporations, and the proprietors of their rights of government ? To those who believe kings to be necessarily tyrants, this question will appear superfluous ; but those who are inclined to trace political conduct up to its motives in the mind of the actors, will find that the English kings, in their connexion with the American colonies, acted mainly from two prominent ideas.

I. The first of these ideas was, that the soil and sovereignty of America belonged inalienably to the king, and was not and could not be by any grant or charter

transferred from him. Inalienable sovereignty was an elemental idea of the feudal system; and, though the English kings gave to corporations and proprietors, and others, charters purporting to transfer the sovereignty, or right of government, yet there remained to the king that ultimate sovereignty, that feudal supremacy, that paramount authority, which was not and could not be transferred. Acting upon this theory, King James derided the pretensions of parliament when that body interfered to control the colony of Virginia. He claimed that North America belonged to the crown—that it was his own, and that parliament had no right to intermeddle with his American possessions. His successors believed the same creed. The king thus being, as he supposed, the feudal lord of North America, reserved to himself in his grants the ultimate sovereignty, the feudal supremacy over the colonies.

II. Closely connected with this idea was another, which was also drawn from the depths of the feudal system: namely, that no English subject could divest himself of his allegiance, or cease to be an English subject. Allegiance was a duty which every Englishman owed to his sovereign, and to which he was bound by an oath, either taken or supposed to be taken. The obligation of this oath never ceased. An Englishman might go to the East Indies, or to Africa, or to the South Sea Islands, or to China, but wherever he went he was still an English subject, and owed allegiance to his sovereign. Once a subject, he was always a subject. His allegiance, like the marriage relation, ceased only with life. Hence, when Englishmen came to America they still owed allegiance to their liege lord, his majesty in England. They continued to be his *men*. The colonies

they established were merely new homes, where they lived the same subjects that they had been in England.

We have then these two elemental ideas: first, that the sovereignty of America belonged inalienably to the king; second, that emigrants to America, like all other English subjects everywhere, owed him perpetual allegiance. These two ideas had a very extensive influence in originating and directing the conduct of the English sovereigns towards the American colonies. Did the colonists attempt to make their own laws and govern themselves, the English monarch interposed to preserve his sovereignty. Did the colonists refuse to contribute to the royal revenue, the king was alarmed lest they should renounce their allegiance. Did they attempt to traffic directly with foreign nations; that was contrary to the laws of England, and destructive of the king's supremacy over them. Did they grow turbulent, and chase away royal governors and custom-house officers; that was destructive of the monarch's sovereignty, and a denial of allegiance. Did three or four of the colonies propose to unite in order to repel the attacks of the Indians or the French, their union boded ill to the sovereignty of the king, and was prohibited. Individuals, who desired to emigrate to America, were sometimes forbidden to depart from England lest they should, in their new home, renounce their allegiance to the king. Tradition reports that such an injunction restrained Cromwell and some of his fellow-patriots, when they were on ship-board and ready to sail for New England; and it was objected to the Puritans, that they wished to go to America in order to free themselves from subjection to the crown. They were taunted with the accusation that they wished to get away from the presence of his majesty, that they might cease to render him obe-

dience. A license to emigrate, which was inserted in many of the charters, pointed to the allegiance which the emigrants owed to their king in England, and which they would continue to owe in their home in America.

These two ideas caused the English kings to look upon the colonies as extensions of the kingdom, and upon the colonists as subjects. The grants to corporations and others, of regions in America, were regarded as trusts for increasing the power and promoting the honour of the crown. Hence, when the king was advised that a colony failed in this trust, when he saw it perform acts endangering his colonial sovereignty, or when he apprehended that its inhabitants were forgetting their allegiance, it was warned of its error. If it did not speedily satisfy the crown, the royal power was put forth to reduce it to immediate dependence.

I have stated this connexion of the crown with the colonies in general terms, because they were all at one time or another reduced to royal provinces mainly because they had not been sufficiently careful in recognising the king's sovereignty, or their own allegiance. It was to preserve this sovereignty and allegiance that they were all directed to be governed by the laws of England, so far as applicable to their condition.

These two ideas, dug from the rubbish of feudalism, sent the English sovereigns to control American colonization; but those princes did not reflect that these two old ideas might not be suited or applicable to the condition of things in the New World. They saw that sovereignty and perpetual allegiance did well enough in Europe; and it did not occur to them that they would not be adapted to emigrants in America.

Ideas of fitness or appropriateness often arise very slowly. When the missionaries went to the Sandwich

Islands, they burnt shells, made lime, and whitewashed their buildings. The islanders, seeing the effect, also burnt shells, made lime, and proceeded to whitewash. First they whitewashed their houses, then their furniture, then their pigs, then their poultry; and finally, they whitewashed their children. They saw that whitewashing was an elegant improvement to buildings; but it never occurred to them that it would be inappropriate to pigs, poultry, and children. The English kings committed a similar error in their conduct towards the American colonies. They saw that sovereignty and perpetual allegiance were fine ideas for Europe; but they did not reflect that these ideas were of European growth; they did not reflect that new circumstances must necessarily produce new systems of government. They had nothing to offer to America except feudal sovereignty and perpetual allegiance; but the inappropriateness of this offering to the condition of the emigrants rendered the royal whitewashing a trouble and a failure.

We may say the attempt of the kings to carry these two ideas into practice in America was a failure; for the colonists disregarded them both—always practically—often systematically. Many of them had come to the wilderness to escape from the oppression laid upon them in Europe. The accusations of the royalists were true; for the colonists did wish to free themselves from the burdens of obedience; their opinions, their wishes, their whole temper of mind, were hostile to the royal claims of sovereignty and perpetual allegiance. Hence, during the whole colonial history there was a constant struggle between the democratic element and the regal element. The royal power was exerted to propagate, to preserve, to enforce, sovereignty and allegiance; and the democratic power was exerted to shake off this

yoke, to get away from this obedience, and to establish a system of government, suited to the wants and wishes and circumstances of the colonists.

Surely it cannot be matter of surprise that two such antipodal systems should, like the principles of good and evil, be in unceasing conflict. The result of the conflict was, that the attempt of the kings to maintain themselves at the head of American colonization was unsuccessful; and, though they appointed the governors of the royal provinces down to the Revolution, yet their authority over the internal government of the colonies might well be symbolized by a shadow, or at least by a meager, thin, debilitated, consumptive figure. When I say that kings failed to maintain themselves at the head of the American colonies, I do not refer to the Revolution as the time when that failure occurred; I mean that the main ideas of sovereignty and allegiance were resisted by the colonists, and that they were resisted with such effect, that in their internal affairs the emigrants—the people—were the supreme power.

But we must hasten on to the last series of attempts that were made in American colonization, which we will resume in the next lecture.

LECTURE V.

POPULAR COLONIZATION.

Popular Colonization : I. Attempts by the people directly to plant colonies—Settlement of New England—First constitution formed on the Mayflower—Pure democracy—Religious liberty—Roger Williams promulgates entire liberty of conscience ; II. Attempts by the people to gain the control of colonies planted by corporations and feudal nobles—Success in the several colonies—Causes of the popularization of all the colonies : I. Many of the colonists came to escape from oppression in Europe—Connexion of the Reformation with liberty in America—Progress of liberal opinion ; II. The emigrants were in America removed from the influence of old and illiberal institutions—System of laws, however, carried with them to America—Adaptation of the common law to the colonies—Abolition of the law of primogeniture—All the colonial movements tended towards popular government—Conclusion of the review of American colonization.

WE have reviewed the attempts made by foreign corporations, feudal princes, and kings, to plant and govern colonies in America, and we now come to consider the popular attempts at colonization. According to the order already presented, we have the general statement : fourth,

THE PEOPLE, INDEPENDENTLY OF FOREIGN CORPORATIONS,
FEUDAL NOBLES, AND KINGS, TRIED TO FORM COLONIES IN
AMERICA.

Private enterprise was the animating spirit which infused life and energy into American colonization. Private adventurers, to make gain or to escape oppression, came to this continent, and were the true founders of our nation. Some of them came under the guardian-

ship of foreign corporations; some under the direction of feudal nobles; but many, putting their trust in a benign Providence, came hither to seek that repose and liberty of conscience which were denied them in Europe. Let us see what influence these popular attempts at colonization had upon the organization of our republic. In the assertion that the people tried to form colonies, there are involved two subordinate ideas which, though closely connected, have certain shades of difference worthy of our notice. The first idea is, that the people, private individuals, the mass men, attempted, of their own mere motion, to originate colonies in America: the other subordinate idea is, that in the colonies originated by corporations and feudal nobles, the people endeavoured to gain the ascendancy. Let us pursue the course pointed out by this division, and inquire first a little into the purely popular attempts at colonization in America.

I. New England was the region where the earliest of these attempts was made, and where their results were most fully developed. The story of the Puritans will at once suggest itself when mention is made of the popular colonization of our country. Children of the Reformation, they had fled from England to avoid the severe laws of Queen Elizabeth. That Protestant princess, in her zeal for uniformity of doctrine and worship, caused laws to be enacted directing all her dutiful subjects to conform to the ceremonies and creed of the Church of England. A sect appeared who refused compliance. Flying for conscience' sake, they sought refuge in Holland, that foggy receptacle for the persecuted and disaffected of all nations. Sighing at the thought of their children being changed into Dutch merchants, and losing their language and faith, they turned their eyes to the wilderness of America. They yearned for a home

where they could repose in peace, and where liberty of conscience could be enjoyed. They sailed for America ; and the Mayflower, bearing these patriarchal heroes of our nation, arrived off the coast of Massachusetts, in December, A. D. 1620.

What were their views respecting their future career ? Their plans and faith are revealed in the form of government which they adopted on ship-board, and under which they proposed to act in their new home. This primitive document of American democracy ran as follows :

“ In the name of God, Amen : we, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign, King James, having undertaken, for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid ; and, by virtue hereof, do enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.”

We have transcribed this compact entire, because it gives a luminous view of the origin of popular government in America. “ We, the undersigned, combine ourselves together into a civil body politic : ” this is the substance of the constitution adopted by the pilgrim fathers. Abstractionists have laboured to find in a social compact the origin of human government. They might have verified their speculations by quoting the simple

and sublime announcement which was made from the *Mayflower*, when forty-one persons "combined themselves together into a civil body politic." Here was democratic government in its cradle. Nothing was said about the divine right of kings, nothing was said about the divine origin of human government, nothing was said about perpetual allegiance; but a great event was announced in the declaration "we combine ourselves together into a civil body politic." Who will even now describe the results of this democratic organization?

When *Æneas*, the father of the Roman Empire, sailed for the shores of Italy, all Heaven was thrown into an uproar in contemplation of the results, and Jupiter and the grand celestials made angry speeches to each other on the subject, as long as the messages of modern governors. The gods and goddesses paired off, like Whigs and Tories, into two political parties, one party being for *Æneas*, and one against him. Virgil tells the whole story, describing the fights and copying the speeches.

Now grant that these fables were realities, and we have, in the voyage of the Roman progenitor, a type of that actual voyage which brought the Puritans to New England, and laid the foundations of our nation. If the fabled ship was freighted with the destinies of Rome, in the *Mayflower* were borne the seeds of that republican tree under which millions of freemen now repose.

What were the motives which brought the pilgrims here? What were the views they entertained of their prospective position in America? The primitive document of American democracy, which we have just quoted, tells us that they desired to plant a colony for the glory of God, for the advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of their king and country. This recital of their motives points to the most exalted ends of human ac-

tion ; and, with their eyes steadily fixed upon these grand results, they commenced the Plymouth colony. Being at first a pure democracy, they endured sore trials of their religious and political faith. Subsequently they organized a representative republic, and became the model of many other New England settlements.*

The settlement of Massachusetts commenced under a foreign corporation. The Plymouth Company of England, in the days of its decline, granted a charter for Massachusetts to a subordinate corporation in England, at the head of which was Sir Henry Rosewell. In a few years this charter was transferred from England to Massachusetts, or, in other words, the corporation itself emigrated, and became part of the colony it was to establish.

* In the "History of the Revolt of the American Colonies, by George Chalmers," recently published in Boston, the author, a Scotch loyalist, thus characterizes the Puritan emigrants :

"A few fanatics, who, tired of the European world, because it denied to them that toleration which they showed little inclination to allow to others, sailed for Virginia, but were driven by storm on the coast of New England. Here they determined to end a disastrous voyage, since the approach of winter as well as their distresses forbade farther adventure. But sagacity soon discovered that he who appears to be animated by the fervours of religion, may at the same time be actuated by the most ardent ambition."—*Chal. B. I. c. II.*

The loyalist author regards these "fanatics" as the disseminators of that rebellious spirit which he so much deplors.

In a subsequent chapter, speaking of the clergy of Massachusetts and New Plymouth, he gives us the following information :

"The savage vulgarity of the clergy gave them considerable influence over the minds of the multitude, whose manners they formed, whose inclinations they directed to that love of equality, that impatience of restraint, which strangers in after times attributed to a leveling principle. And to this source may be traced up the genuine causes of the various events of their annals."—*Chal. B. II., c. II.*

There is great truth in some of these observations. But the Puritan clergy, "fanatics" acting with "savage vulgarity!" That will do. Good-bye, Mr. Chalmers.

Endicott, a hero renowned in New England's history, led the mass. A civil government was organized, of which the charter was the nucleus, and in which the emigrants, the multitude, were the rulers; and Massachusetts became the centre of New England colonization; and, reaching out its arms northward and southward, it embraced Maine, and finally absorbed the Plymouth colony. The little plantations that were established by private enterprise along the coast of New England, became, in time, incorporated into this province. Here the entire civil government, in its whole internal administration, was in the hands of the colonists; here men learned to govern themselves; here the "diggers-up of trees' roots" became law-makers, judges, and governors.

Emigrants from Massachusetts, under the direction of the worthy Thomas Hooker, planted a colony on the Connecticut, and laid the foundation of that province on the broad basis of democracy. These emigrants, like the pilgrims of the Mayflower, erected themselves into a body politic, and exercised, of their own mere motion, all the functions of government without any recognition of royal sovereignty or perpetual allegiance to the crown. A colony, similar in origin and independence, was established at New Haven: and these little republics were, in the next generation, united into the province of Connecticut by charter from Charles II.

But while the Puritans sought to establish democratic colonies, and enjoy political and religious liberty, they forgot that all intellects have an equal right to act for themselves. They became so rigidly exclusive, that conformity to their own church became the condition of citizenship. Roger Williams, fixing his steady gaze upon a bright and glorious star, the star of intellectual

liberty, refused to comply with the requisitions made in behalf of the established church of Massachusetts; the legislature banished him from the province; and he went forth from his kindred to become, like Abraham of old, a blessing to the world. With the mattock, the oar, and the Bible, the heroic exile sat down in the wilderness, and laid the foundations of Rhode Island. A constitution of the most liberal character was framed for the government of his colony. The will of the majority was to govern the state in civil matters; but in regard to spiritual affairs, no governor was recognised except the Father of Spirits. All creeds and all sects were admitted to Rhode Island; Jew and Pagan, Mahometan and Christian, all were there provided a shelter. Roger Williams had the sagacity to strike upon absolute freedom of conscience, upon universal toleration, as the basis of his colony; he first had the sagacity to develop this principle, a principle which has become imbedded into the solid structure of our nation. Calvert before him, and Penn after him, founded states with toleration of all *Christian* sects; Williams went a step farther, and opened an asylum for all creeds, of all nations. Our whole Union has adopted the principle first promulgated by him, that government should not adopt religious creeds. Thought should be unlimited except by the laws of the Creator, the only laws adapted to its nature.

This universal liberty of conscience was, at a subsequent day, recognised in the charter of Rhode Island granted by Charles II. In that primitive document of religious liberty, the following provisions are inserted:

“No person within the said colony shall be anywise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for any differences in opinion in matters of religion; but

all and every person and persons may freely and fully have and enjoy his and their own judgment and conscience in matters of religious concernment, they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness and profaneness, nor to the civil injury and outward disturbance of others.”

This noble charter was granted by the royal persecutor of the Scottish covenanters! The substance of it is the religious charter of our whole nation. The part of it which I have recited cannot be too carefully studied; it provides for the free exercise of religion, with no other restriction than that this liberty is not to be made a cloak for licentiousness, or injury to others. Such was the character of the *popular* colonization of New England.

A similar spontaneous movement of the people planted the colony of North Carolina. Many adventurers from New England sought a home in that southern wilderness, and aided North Carolina in successfully rejecting the philosophical constitution of Locke.

New England, however, became the seed-plot of liberal opinions, and Massachusetts was the nursery of democracy. After fighting along for half a century, the charter of that province was revoked by James II., because “he could see no use for it.” It was restored, as we have already mentioned, by William III., with the alteration, that a governor was to be appointed by the crown. The contest between the royal governors and the people of that province, which were carried on through three-quarters of a century, is a luminous commentary upon the democracy of New England. The governor insisted that the legislature of the province should pass an act giving him a fixed salary. The legislature could “see no use” for such an act, and refused.

An almost ludicrous contest of three-quarters of a century ensued. If we had no more of the colonial history than what relates to this matter of the salary of the royal governor of Massachusetts, we could form a pretty correct idea of the temper of the popular colonies, and of the relation which, in their opinion, they sustained to England. But we are not restricted to this half-comical, yet highly important contest about the pay of the king's governor. The whole colonial history of New England is the history of a people who were determined to have their internal government in their own hands; and who, by the exercise of great wisdom, firmness, and sagacity, baffled the English sovereigns and lived under their own laws. Such men were worthy to be the leaders in those measures which eventuated in the establishment of our national independence and national union.

II. The second subordinate idea involved in the consideration of the popular colonization of our country is, that in the colonies originated by corporations and feudal nobles, the people tried to gain the ascendancy. In these attempts there was a singular uniformity in the colonies. I mean a uniformity in regard to the results upon popular government. The popular movement in the colonies was a progressive movement, and its progression was continually towards republicanism. In Virginia, the people, while yet under the corporation that planted the colony, established a house of representatives which became a model for the other American plantations. In the New Netherlands, while under the Dutch East India Company, a similar attempt was made by the colonists to gain a share in the government. At a later day, and under a change of masters, they accomplished their purpose.

In the colonies which were organized on the plan of feudal principalities, a similar *popularization* occurred.

In the Carolinas, in Maryland, in Delaware, in Pennsylvania, and in the Jerseys, the people—the colonists, practically governed themselves during the period in which the proprietors claimed the ascendancy. The democratic or liberal element prevailed through these colonies, and the people would rule; the feudal element would not amalgamate with the democratic element. The introduction of great proprietors seemed like bringing to the wilderness of America the lords and lordlings of overruled Europe. When transplanted to America, nobility became a sickly exotic; it would not acclimate. While proprietors were talking of their rents, the people were intent only upon liberty. To keep the inhabitants in a good humour, the proprietors granted them political privileges; and Pennsylvania and Maryland enjoyed a large share of liberty through the benevolence of their founders, while the Carolinas and the Jerseys obtained similar immunities through the operation of less exalted motives—the hope of gain. The people, however, by one means and another gained a school—a gymnasium, where they could exercise and train and discipline themselves in self-government.

Similar attempts, attended with similar success, were made in those provinces where the crown, succeeding to the labours of others, endeavoured to control the internal government of the colonies. It is not pretended that the royal colonies were at all times in a struggle with the crown, or that there were no examples of subordination, and even of temporary subjection to the royal authority. Acts might be cited which indicate a very loyal submission, as were many acts of the colonists, connected with the restoration of Charles II. For illustration, we may mention that the legislature of Virginia, which on the reception of that news was elected

for two years, sat sixteen, and became a mere tool in the hands of the royal governor, for disfranchising the colonists and reducing them to unconditional bondage. The popular spirit, however, revived after sixteen years of usurpation; Bacon's rebellion, in A. D. 1676, dispersed the royalist legislature; and the flames of Jamestown, which was sacrificed on the altar of liberty, symbolized well the burning spirit of freedom, which, after shooting out at different points, and gathering strength through a whole century, finally blazed forth in the fires of the Revolution. At a later day, New York exhibited a similar loyal spirit on the accession of William III. The popular assembly of the colony, on that occasion, signified its loyal zeal by executing the patriotic, but unfortunate Leisler, whose projects of popular liberty were subsequently adopted from Massachusetts to Georgia. But exclusive of a few such examples of loyal submission, the movement of the royal provinces harmonized with the liberal movements of the other colonies. There was a unison, a sympathy, a harmony of feeling, connecting the different provinces all along the Atlantic border; and the same struggle, the same spirit contending for the same objects, may be seen at different epochs along the whole line of colonial history.

I have just noticed the general harmony between the movements of the royal provinces and of the other colonies; and you perceive that in them all the movement was towards a popularization of the colonial governments. There was a constant effort of the people—of the mass—of “the diggers-up of trees’ roots”—to escape from the control of kings, corporations, and feudal nobles, and to establish colonial governments, in which they could manage their own affairs in their own way.

This was the result—the end—the point towards which the diversified events of the colonial history constantly tended.

A few of the causes or circumstances which promoted this popularization of the colonial governments, merit a passing notice in this connexion, inasmuch as even a cursory view of them will exhibit the fountain-heads from which have flowed the liberal streams that now water our land.

I. The first of these circumstances is to be found in the fact that many, very many, of the colonists came to America to escape from the religious and political persecutions to which they were exposed at home. The progress of affairs in America was affected by the movements in Europe. The great ocean of human beings ebbs and flows, and the remote wilderness feels the heavings of the distant city. The same Providence who made of one blood all the families of men, and sent them to dwell over the face of all the earth, prepares from afar the means by which new and grand results are to be developed in the career of the human race. The Reformation in Europe and its consequences to the nations there, were the means, the agencies, the moving influences which Providence employed to fill America with the men who were needed in the origination and establishment of our republic. The Reformation had a political as well as an ecclesiastical operation. It developed one idea, which ran equally through religion, through politics, and through philosophy. That idea was, that Mind is of right free. This one idea revolutionized the church, revolutionized philosophy, and went far towards revolutionizing government. It laid the axe at the root of the ecclesiastical and political slave-tree.

It did more: it raised up giants who wielded that axe with mighty force and ponderous strokes.

Rightly to appreciate the operation of this idea, and the work which the Reformation accomplished, we must remember that the political and ecclesiastical organization of Europe was one system and one organization. The church was not first organized and then the state, nor was the state first organized and then the church; but church and state grew up together, and formed one system—not two. Hence, in the straining and disruption of the cords of the church in the days of the Reformation, there was also great violence done to the cords of the state. The Reformation consequently introduced a Protestantism in the state as well as in the church; and the populace of Europe awoke to the idea of freedom—freedom of the intellect, freedom in matters of religion, and freedom in political government. The Reformation developed this idea, expanded it, and held it up before the admiring eyes of thousands. What was the consequence? The immediate consequence was, that this idea of freedom, in its several ramifications in church, state, and philosophy, came in collision with an antagonistic idea: namely, the doctrine of absolute power, the doctrine of a divinely granted authority in church, in state, and in philosophy. A contest, long, fierce, furious, and bloody, ensued between these two ideas; absolutism, in its several ramifications, being arrayed on one side, and liberty on the other. It was in the heavings of this struggle that the oppressed children of freedom sought and found an asylum in America. They came hither, as the dove returned to the ark, because it could find elsewhere no rest for the sole of its foot.

Here is the connexion of the Reformation with the popularized and liberty-loving governments of America.

The connexion lies in the idea of liberty which was struck out and developed by the Reformers, and which brought men here in hopes of realizing that freedom of conscience, of government, and of thought, which was denied them in Europe.

And what kind of men came here from these motives? What were their excellencies? their peculiar characteristics? Without hesitation I reply, "they were *men*." They were the choice spirits of Europe. They were individuals who exercised thought, who *reasoned*, who looked away from the glitter of courts, from the mitres of the church, and from the flatteries of princes. They felt in their inmost souls the living reality of liberty: liberty of conscience, of government, and of thought. And they had the moral courage to free themselves from bondage, to think for themselves, and to act for themselves. The first class of these moral heroes who sought shelter within the limits of the present United States, were the Huguenots, who planted themselves under the guardianship of Coligny in Carolina, and subsequently in Florida. Annihilated by the jealousy and cruelty of the Spaniards, they bequeathed their spirit and their daring to their moral kindred in Europe, and the Puritans copied their example. Roger Williams, and Penn, and Lord Baltimore, gazed upon the same glorious image of liberty. They followed the persecuted and flying beauty to the wilderness, and among the chestnuts and oaks and rocks and rivers of North America, built bowers for her abode.

It is pleasing to watch the progress and operation of a single grand idea. 'The mind is of right free, said the Quaker, because God in the soul is the standard of truth. The dignity of the Divine presence requires his tabernacle, the human soul, to be free.

Arriving at the same result through a less sublime philosophy, the oppressed of every name in Europe joined the disciples of Barclay and Penn, and preferred liberty in the wilderness to slavery in the land of their fathers. They fled from Europe to escape from bondage in conscience, in government, and in thought; and should *they* in America, by yielding to the control of kings, corporations and nobles, abandon that liberty whose glorious image had allured them hither? Is it matter of surprise that such men in their new homes "could see no use for" feudal proprietors and royal governors? With such men, acting from such motives, the popular organization of the new governments in America was inevitable.

II. Another circumstance which operated very extensively in giving to the colonial governments a popular cast, was, that the emigrants came away from institutions and influences which were adverse to free government. I do not here refer to the distance—the three thousand miles of ocean which separated the colonists from Europe—though that was favourable to self-government. I wish rather to present the idea of coming away, of rising up and leaving, of coming out from among aristocratic and monarchic institutions. By such a separation, the emigrants, when they arrived here, had the benefit of the experience of Europe in matters of government; and they had this benefit without being incumbered with the institutions and influences, which in the countries they left, were hostile to popular government. They were at liberty to select, or rather they in fact did select what elements of European society and government they wished to introduce into America. We have seen what reception—what place, they gave to royalty and to feudal laws. They in fact rejected them in the internal organization

of the colonial governments. The ecclesiastical system, the blended, two-fold, dualistic, Janus-like organization of church and state, which in Europe was the core of persecution and oppression, found but little favour in America. It had a few humble imitations in Massachusetts, in Virginia, and at a few other points ; where it produced its legitimate fruits, *hanging* Quakers in the north, and disfranchising Roman Catholics in the south. But the system did not find favour. The universal toleration preached and practised by Roger Williams, was the polar star of the colonies in church matters, and they one after another began to sail by its guidance.

But there was one element of English society, which was selected and adopted by the colonists ; and that was the common law of England. This became the basis of colonial jurisprudence, for the very substantial reason that the early colonists, who came principally from England, were familiar with it. Conformity to it was enjoined by the charters for American colonization, but the fact that the colonists were acquainted with it was the main ground of its adoption. The laws of a people mark their character ; and, as the common law of England was one of the principal elements which, after being elaborated in the Old World, was transferred to the New, and operated extensively in the organization of our republic, the reasons and extent of its adoption merit, in this connexion, a little more detail.

When a people have grown up under a system of laws which regulate their contracts, protect their property, and redress their injuries, they will, if taken from their country and thrown elsewhere into a society, naturally have recourse to those laws for their rule of action in their new home. This, in fact, occurred in the American colonies. The first emigrants adopted the com-

mon law of England in its essential elements, because they were familiar with it ; its provisions, in many respects, suited them ; they knew it, and therefore made it their own. It is often asserted that the common law was the birth-right of the colonies, and that they were entitled to it. It was indeed their birth-right, as the English language was their birth-right ; and it became the basis of their jurisprudence, for the same reason that the English language continued their language—because they were acquainted with it. They retained their mother tongue because they knew how to scold, make love, and drive bargains in it ; and they retained their mother laws because they suited the purposes of the emigrants, and were known to them. When it is said that the common law was their birthright, and that they were entitled to it, the declaration relates to their connexion with the English sovereigns, and intimates that laws long established had exempted all English subjects from the oppression and tyranny of the crown.

But many of the colonies adopted the common law with very important modifications. The rules of primogeniture, which give the whole estate of a deceased parent to his eldest son, were introduced into some of the colonies ; as in the Carolinas, Virginia, New York, and Rhode Island ; but in other colonies they were materially changed. The reason of this law ceased in America. European society was organized on the basis that the whole estate of a feudal lord should descend inalienably to his eldest son. The property was thereby preserved entire in the family, and there was a head or chief who could do battle in his own cause, or in the cause of his paramount lord. As to the sons who did not happen to be born first, “there was no use for them.”

The end to be reached by American colonization re-

quired that this castle of nobility should not be firmly built on this continent. Many of the colonies adopted the rule of dividing estates among the children of a deceased parent. Different colonies made this partition in different ratios, but in several of them it approximated to a division of equality. In Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania, estates were divided, giving to the eldest son a double portion. Other colonies had provisions similar in substance.

This division of property operated beneficially upon the popular cast of the colonial governments. Massachusetts and Pennsylvania were more popularly inclined than Virginia and New York. But the essential benefit of the rule of partition was, that it created a more numerous yeomanry of moderate fortunes, brought a greater number of interests into connexion with the colonial governments, and was more congenial to the temper and feelings of the colonists.

The prohibition to entail estates, to lock them up in a family through remote generations by testamentary provisions, when it came to be subsequently united with the rule of partition, laid the solid foundations of our republican equality. I do not mean an absolute equality of wealth, but such an equality as can be produced by the distribution of inheritances, the division of estates, and the rapid circulation of property.

We have now enumerated two circumstances which promoted the popularization of the colonial governments: First, that many of the colonists came to America to escape from religious and political persecution; and second, that, in coming here, they left behind them the institutions and parts of institutions that were adverse to free government. These two circumstances gave to the colonies that were of purely popular origin, an

internal political organization which, in some cases, approached almost to a pure democracy. To the other colonies, whether originating with foreign corporations, or feudal nobles, or subjected immediately to the crown, the same circumstances imparted a highly popular character, and caused the colonial populace everywhere to demand, and in fact to exercise self-government.

Other circumstances, of a more remote and indirect character, co-operated with the two just detailed, and aided in promoting the spirit of popular freedom in the colonies. Among these remoter circumstances, were the troubles in England which elevated Cromwell to power, and the character and conduct of Charles II. The commotions which preceded the protector's elevation, left the colonies to take care of themselves, and gave them leisure to bring to the test of practice their notions of government. The corrupt character, and the wants of Charles II., drew his attention away from the colonies. He seems to have estimated them according to the money he could get for them; and, through one motive and another, he gave charters for Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, New York, and the Carolinas. He even sold Virginia, for "a consideration," to Lord Culpepper for thirty years; but the resistance of the Virginians annulled the grant which transferred them like serfs.

All these different circumstances contributed to render the *people* of the colonies a democratic people. Everywhere they obtained a share in the legislation, and a popular assembly in every colony gave them a voice in their government.

It would be idle to ask what connexion the popular colonization now detailed had with the future fortunes of our republic. The connexion is apparent, plain, palpable.

The constitution of the Pilgrim Fathers, by which they on the deck of the Mayflower formed themselves into "a civil body politic," was the type, the original model, after which the various colonial governments were in fact fashioned; and when more than a century and a half had passed in preparation, the same democratic idea was the illuminating centre of that national organization which "we the people ordained and established." Can you not see the little pilgrim constitution pointing its religious finger away across a great interval of time, and claiming the kindred of parentage with its lineal child, the Constitution of the United States, to which a great nation in A. D. 1789 stood godfather?

We have now reviewed the several attempts which were made to plant and govern colonies in America. Your attention has been drawn to the fact that the events and influences connected with these attempts in all their diverse ramifications, were prospective contrivances which pointed onwards in time to that more grand and comprehensive result, which is developed in our national organization. Through storm and tempest, through sunshine and rain, under balmy airs, chilling frosts, and genial showers, the thirteen colonial plantings grew from little buds, put forth boughs and blossoms, and became goodly trees. We will presently see how they interlaced their branches, and formed that republican harbour under which we now repose, and for which a benign Providence caused them to be planted.

The causes of the American Revolution will next engage our attention.

LECTURE VI.

CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

The colonies in general managed their internal affairs—England controlled their external affairs—Different interpretations of the connexion of the colonies with England, as given, (1) by the king; (2) by the parliament; (3) by the colonists—I. First and great cause of the Revolution to be found in the commercial policy of England towards the colonies—Commercial system of Europe—Its main idea—Gives rise to the colonial system of Europe—England's colonial policy arising from the commercial system—Restrictions on the colonies, (1) in favour of the merchants and ship-owners; (2) in favour of the manufacturers; (3) in favour of the land-holders—Effect on the colonies—Reasons of their submission to the restrictions—II. Second cause of the Revolution to be found in the African slave-trade—England's participation in that trade, and its effect on the colonies—Their opposition to it overruled—Motives for its continuance—III. Third cause of the Revolution found in the destruction of the colonial system of Europe—Commercial wars arise among the European nations—Fall of the colonial system—Effect on the colonies—IV. Fourth cause of the Revolution, the attempt of Great Britain to tax the colonies—Commencement of this taxation—Reasons of the colonists for resisting it—Origin of taxation in England—Theory of the British Empire, as entertained in America—V. Minor grievances leading to the Revolution—Interference with the colonial currency—Importation of criminals—Violation of chartered rights—These causes all centred in the commercial system—Their long-continued action—Their final effect in the liberation of America.

THE causes which more immediately operated in bringing about the American Revolution, are another series of prospective contrivances which pointed forward in time to the organization of our national republic. These causes harmonized in their results with the events and influences in our colonial history, to which I have already directed your attention, and to the con-

sideration of them in their connexion with the establishment of our government, we now proceed.

What were the causes of the American Revolution? The answer to this question will form the subject of the present lecture.

We have already given you an idea of the origin of the colonies, and of the various attempts that were made to gain the ascendancy in their internal government. In these attempts the foreign corporations failed; the shadows of royalty and feudal nobility remained indeed in the royal and proprietary plantations of America; but these shadows had little influence in the internal government of the country. The people, the colonists—the populace, properly so called—became in fact their own domestic governors, and made and executed their own laws.

But if in their internal affairs the provinces approximated to popular government, in their external relations the result was quite different. By their external relations I mean their commerce, their affairs with other nations, and all their connexions with the rest of the world—especially with each other, and with England. In these external relations they came under the control of England; for they not only had the English king for their paramount sovereign, but the parliament, in conjunction with the king, undertook to control, and did control, their commerce and other foreign affairs. Fully to comprehend the origin and extent of this control, we must keep in mind a clear and well defined idea of the political relations of the colonies, both to each other and to England.

With each other they had no connexion except what arose from proximity—from fellow-feeling—from similarity of situation—and from a common dependence

upon their mother country. There was, in fact, no political cord running through them and binding them together. But with England they stood in a connexion which most vitally affected them in all their hopes and interests. Let us inquire a little into the nature of this connexion as it was interpreted, first, by the king, second, by the English parliament, and third, by the colonists themselves; and we will then be more able to form a correct view of the causes of that contest which separated the colonies from the mother country.

(1.) We have already mentioned that King James advanced an exclusive claim to North America. He asserted in substance, that the new continent being discovered by English subjects, belonged to the crown, and that he, being by Divine right the wearer of that crown, was Lord of America, and entitled to dispose of it as he thought proper; and that parliament had no right to intermeddle in the matter. His son, the unfortunate Charles I., inheriting the crown and kingly notions of his father, maintained the same doctrine; and regarded the American colonies as subjected to his sole control.

(2.) But what did the English parliament say to these pretensions of their sovereign? That body strenuously resisted the claim which the crown advanced to the exclusive sovereignty over America, and avowed their own right to intermeddle in colonial matters. Their pretensions were greatly favoured by the troubles which destroyed for a time the English monarchy, and also by the republican notions which prevailed during the time of the Commonwealth. After the restoration, and during the reign of the weak and dissolute Charles II., the same parliamentary pretensions were advanced; but it was not until the aristocratic revolution of A. D. 1688, that they were fully acquiesced in by the king. The

parliament which at the opening of that revolution deposed James II., and called William of Orange to the throne, annihilated the Divine right of kings—at least of English kings—and cut up by the roots the royal prerogatives which had grown from this doctrine. For if kings could be made by an act of parliament, as was William III.—if they derived their crown from men—from lords and commons, the idea of a Divine right to the throne was a figment. This truth was felt after the English Revolution; and the men who had handled royalty without gloves, did not hesitate to assert their right to interfere in all matters appertaining to the English crown. As between the king and parliament, therefore, the right of the latter to interfere in colonial matters was decided; for there was no longer the idea of a Divine right, to uphold the king in his pretensions to exclusive sovereignty in any affair concerning the crown. Accordingly, from the accession of William III., parliament, without opposition from the crown, intermeddled in the external affairs of the American provinces. The extent of their interference will be presently exhibited.

(3.) But how did the colonists themselves interpret their connexion with England? They rather coincided with the royal than with the parliamentary interpretation of that connexion. They acknowledged the paramount sovereignty of the king, and acquiesced in the doctrine that he was their feudal lord, and they his liege men and subjects. But they very significantly asked what parliament had to do with them, or they with parliament? According to their notions, the parliament, whether subordinate to the king, or superior to him, was, in regard to the extent of its legislative authority, merely his council to aid him in governing the realm of England. If they did indeed admit the interference of that body,

within what limits would its interference be circumscribed? On what subjects would an act of parliament bind them? or ought it to bind them in any case? These questions contained the marrow of a daring resistance, and were agitated along a whole century of colonial history. It is a little singular that, in discussing these questions, the colonies employed nearly the same language which had been used at an earlier day by the Divine-right kings, to maintain their exclusive sovereignty over America. They, indeed, coincided with the old Stuart kings in maintaining that the English parliament had, of right, nothing to do with America. Such were the interpretations of the connexion of the provinces with England, as given by the Stuart kings, by the parliament, and by the early colonists themselves. Let us see the results of these incongruous theories, as developed in action. And as these results operated ultimately to destroy the sovereignty of the English kings over our country, we may group them together, and recognise in them the real causes of the American Revolution.

What were these causes?

I. The first and great cause of the Revolution is to be found in the commercial policy which England pursued towards the plantations.

The colonial policy of England, to be correctly appreciated, must be viewed in its connexion with the commercial system of Europe. And what were the elements of that system? We may briefly say that it was a system circulating round one idea; and this idea was, that gold and silver constituted the wealth of a nation. That a nation may accumulate gold and silver, its exports must exceed its imports; it must sell more than it buys; and the amount of its sales over its purchases, *economically* called the balance of trade, will be

received in cash. The money thus drawn into a country is the nation's gain, and constitutes its real wealth. This was the main idea of the commercial system, and it might have been engraved on the rim of a shilling ; for it was all comprised in the single imperative,

“ Get gold and silver ! ”

This doctrine is long ago exploded ; for a barrel of flour or a bushel of potatoes are as real and substantial wealth as a wedge of silver or gold. But the nations of Europe a century ago did not think so ; their motto, nay, their entire commercial creed, was

“ Get gold and silver—honestly if you can—but get gold and silver.”

The practice under this creed very materially affected the emigrants of the several European nations ; for when the idea of colonization came to be placed in connexion with the main idea of the commercial system, colonies, it was thought, might be made to administer greatly to the wealth of the parent country. This they might do either by consuming the articles of home produce, and paying for them in money, or by furnishing, at a cheap rate, articles of traffic whose exportation would bring back gold and silver. In each case, the mother country could only gain its end by assuming the entire control of their commerce.

To create a nation for the purpose of trading to it, was certainly a business-like transaction ; yet this, with a few modifications, was the object which several of the European powers had in view in their attempts at colonization. But from whatever motives the colonies from any nation originated, it was evident that a monopoly of their entire commerce by the mother country would increase her wealth. Such at least was the commercial logic of Europe—a logic which has had a most exten-

sive influence upon the happiness, enterprise, and whole destiny of the human race. For, this reasoning, and these views of wealth, were everywhere adopted just at the time when the New World, bursting from the long concealment of ages, was revealing to the eager, aching gaze of millions, its mineral treasures, its aboriginal cities, its luxuriant forests, its vast plains, rugged mountains, and rich valleys. But instead of leaving this exuberant continent to the men who might plant themselves upon it—instead of giving them liberty to cultivate it for their own benefit, and to reap the harvest which they might sow upon its soil—instead of allowing them to enjoy the fruits which nature here poured forth from her bountiful lap, their enterprise, the sweat of their brows, and the marrow of their bones were sought, to be appropriated to the pitiful service of amassing the precious metals in the Old World. The riches of America were sacrificed at the shrine of an idle theory; and the human race, instead of expanding its arms on the Western Continent with renewed energy, remained here for generations subservient to the supposed interests of governments and privileged classes on the other side of the Atlantic.

How did the European nations so long maintain this power in America? They preserved it mainly by the fact, that they were all engaged in the same system of measures towards the New World. In a few years after the voyage of Columbus, Spanish cities, towns, and villas, studded the shores of the Atlantic and Pacific, and soon spread over the immense plains of South America; but Spain assumed the control of their trade in order to increase the precious metals at home. Holland having delivered herself from the bondage of her ancient masters, sent her enterprising people to the coast of Africa, to the shores of South America, and to the valley

of the Hudson, and then she seized upon their commerce, in order to accumulate gold and silver at home. France planted her lilies in the East, on the islands of the Indian Ocean, in the West Indies, along the St. Lawrence, and in the valley of the Mississippi. When she had established her colonies, she too monopolized their commerce, in order to accumulate gold and silver at home. The colonial policy of England conformed to that of her neighbours; and she sought to monopolize the commerce of her people in America, in order to accumulate gold and silver at home. Thus all Europe was engaged in the same rigorous system—a system whose most characterizing feature was an exclusive monopoly of colonial commerce; and the same policy was pursued towards plantations in the West Indies, on the Spanish Main, on the coast of Africa, on the James River, on the Hudson, on the Delaware, and in New England.

We notice this general colonial policy of Europe, because all these nations being interested each in maintaining the same exclusive system, were all in fact associated in avowing the right of a parent country to exercise an unlimited control over its colonies. Hence, so long as this rigorous system received the general approbation of Europe, the colonies of no one country could reasonably hope to succeed in freeing themselves from the oppression of the parent nation. For, all the nations being interested in the same policy, no one would be willing to aid a rebellion in the colonies of another, lest by so doing it should endanger its own foreign possessions. This remark will in part explain why the American colonies so long acquiesced in the monopoly of their commerce by England.

We have stated in general terms, that the American provinces were required by English legislation to sell in

England, and buy in England. To understand the nature and extent of these restrictions, let us detail a few particulars. The arguments in England urged in favour of assuming the control of this commerce, were based on the general doctrine of the commercial system ; but the several classes of Merchants, Shippers, Manufacturers, and Land-owners, desirous of increasing their own immediate gains, became clamorous for a monopoly of the most stringent and exclusive kind, and put in their claims for the benefits to be derived from this trade.

(1.) First came the mercantile and shipping interest. To favour this interest, the colonies were compelled to sell in England, and buy in England. Articles of traffic, with an exception to be presently noticed, were forbidden to be shipped from America to any ports except those of England. No merchandise was to be sent from Massachusetts, or Virginia, or Maryland, to France, or Germany, or Holland. The tobacco, the indigo, the cotton, and the iron of the American plantations, if shipped at all, must be shipped to England. There was the centre of all their commerce. The colonies were likewise prohibited from purchasing their foreign merchandise at any other markets than those of the parent country. If a piece of silk from France, or of linen from Holland, was wanted in Pennsylvania or Massachusetts; it could be obtained through English merchants, or through smugglers, but in no other *legitimate* way. The English merchants thus obtained a double monopoly ; they had the exclusive privilege of purchasing the colonial produce, and the exclusive right of supplying them in turn with merchandise. To render the monopoly more secure, the Dutch and French merchants were excluded from the colonies. They could neither be agents nor principals there.

Provision was next made that the colonies should not trade with each other. This was for the benefit of the English shipping interest ; for the object of the provision was that the intercolonial commerce should become the perquisite of English ship-owners. A Puritan of Massachusetts could not enjoy a quid of James River tobacco, except by paying an English trader for its importation. The Americans, it is true, might own ships, but they were restricted to a direct trade to the markets of the mother country.

By these provisions England became the centre of her colonial trade ; and it was represented that such commercial regulations would make money accumulate there. They did accumulate it there—in the pockets of the merchants and ship-owners.

(2.) But a second interest appeared ; the English manufacturers desired a slice of the colonial pudding. To project this interest, the provinces were prohibited from engaging in the manufacture of the finer or more minute fabrics. They might build furnaces and make pig-iron, or they might grow wool or flax, or maple-sugar, for these were raw materials ; but they were not permitted to make a chisel, a saw, a pair of scissors, or a penknife, for these finer articles could be better manufactured in England, and would make money centre there. In the intensity of this restrictive system, the colonists were not permitted to manufacture even their own wearing apparel ; the privilege of making such articles belonged exclusively to the manufacturer in England. It was directed that the crude materials should be carried to England, and manufactured articles brought back in return—in brief, they were envied a loom, a shuttle, a forge, or a smith-shop ; and grave statesmen framed acts of parliament against spinning-wheels in

America. Traffic between one another had been prohibited for the benefit of the English ship-owner; and the English manufacturer obtained a similar protection in the parliamentary legislation that forbade woollen goods, woollen hats, and similar fabrics, to be taken from one colony to another.

(3.) But a third interest appeared. The English land-owners put in a claim to be protected. They demanded that grain and other produce of an English farm should not be brought into England from the colonies, without paying a heavy tax or duty. The demand was granted; and corn-laws were enacted to protect land-owners from the competition of the provinces. The farmer from Pennsylvania or Maryland could not enter an English port with his wheat or flour, without paying a heavy tax for the privilege. The English land-owner was the gainer; for the American produce which interfered with his own was in reality excluded from English ports.

By such provisions the English merchants, ship-owners, manufacturers, and land-owners were protected, to the great sacrifice of colonial interests. There were, however, some articles of foreign produce whose introduction into England would interfere with some one of the interests we have now mentioned. These articles the colonists were permitted to carry to other parts of Europe; but even here there were restrictions injurious as well as irritating. Run your eye along the map of Western Europe till you come to the northwestern corner of Spain, where the Bay of Biscay loses itself in the Atlantic Ocean: there is Cape Finisterre. To ports south of that cape the American merchants might export their grain, lumber, fish, and other articles which were opposed to the different interests in England. Why

limit them to the south of Cape Finisterre? Because the Spaniards and residents along the shores of the Mediterranean did not manufacture articles which interfered with English interests.

Such was the colonial system of England. What the merchant left the manufacturer devoured, and what the manufacturer left the shipper and land-owner devoured; and what they all eschewed might be shipped to ports south of Cape Finisterre.

A Chinese lady, with her foot squeezed to the dimensions of a proper sized toe, or a papoose with his head shingled into an oblong shape, are not subjected to more unnatural pressure than were the colonies by these restrictive regulations—and yet the provisions above enumerated were enacted into a system by the close of the reign of William III., and for three-quarters of a century were perseveringly maintained by the English government. The beginning of the system was in the celebrated Navigation Act, passed during the protectorate of Cromwell. On the restoration of Charles II. in A. D. 1660, many stringent additions were made to the legislative enactments respecting the colonies; and all their interests were, on the part of England, intrusted to a Board of trade. But it was not until the aristocratic revolution of A. D. 1688 had annihilated the power of the Stuart kings, that this illiberal system was perfected.

Do you ask why the colonies submitted to such oppression? Was not such a system more grievous than the taxation which was attempted in later times by the stamp act, the tea bill, and their congeners?

There were two reasons which induced them to submit to such a monopoly. The first was, that the policy of England was the policy pursued by all the other European nations towards their colonies. This condition

of things rendered their resistance unavailing; for so long as all Europe was leagued in support of the same grinding system, it would have been idle in the infant American colonies to resist its oppression. The other nations of Europe, instead of aiding them in their opposition, would have been impelled by every motive of interest to help England to punish such an evil example.

The second reason which induced them so long to submit to these grievances, is to be found in the ideas they entertained of their relation to England. They acknowledged their subjection to the English crown; and they admitted that the regulation of commerce was a royal prerogative. Rules of trade, if made by the king, would therefore have been within the limits of his authority; and the process by which similar regulations came to be made by parliament, disposed them quietly to acquiesce in the commercial legislation of that body; for, by the changes which, soon after the commencement of American colonization, took place in the English government, some of the royal prerogatives either came to be exercised by parliament, or were controlled by its votes. This occurred in an especial manner at the accession of Cromwell; when the parliament, among other royal prerogatives, seized upon the power of regulating commerce. At the restoration of Charles II., but more particularly after the revolution of A. D. 1688, this assumption of regal authority became well confirmed; and the English government, composed of the king and parliament, continued to do, in commercial matters, what in earlier times the king himself had done. But the colonists, rather adhering to the old theory of the English government, and regarding the laws affecting their trade as made by their sovereign, though they were in fact made with the advice and consent of parliament, con-

sidered the restrictions upon their commerce to be legal, but very oppressive. Hence, the commercial regulations above recited, though they make a figure in twenty-nine acts of parliament, were by the Americans regarded as the work of their sovereign alone. Accordingly, the Declaration of Independence singles out the king as the great sinner, and sets forth that one of the injuries *he* inflicted upon us was,

“The cutting off of our trade with all parts of the world.”

This “cutting off” had been commenced nearly a century before the penning of the Declaration of Independence; but on account of the two reasons just mentioned, it had been with grumbling and resistance acquiesced in for generations. The commercial monopoly and the restrictions which we have now detailed, contained the seeds of our independence; for, being a system of oppression, its natural effect was to produce a spirit of deep-rooted dissatisfaction. This spirit it in fact did produce; and our colonial history, through a hundred years, teems with manifestations of discontent and with murmurings, and is full of intimations that when the oppressed child grew strong, it would free itself from the shackles which in its youth it had worn with so much impatience.

In forming our estimate of these regulations, we must not forget that private interest, under the cloak of public good, dictated the entire system of colonial restriction. The merchant, the ship-owner, the manufacturer, and the land-holder, seized upon the popular idea of accumulating gold and silver in England, and used it to promote their particular interests. When any one or all of these classes desired an increased share of the colonial spoils, they put forward the public good as their motive,

and asked an act of parliament to protect the labourer, and enrich England. But the English *government* gained nothing by the monopoly. Its power was used by merchants and others, to enrich themselves at the expense of the American plantations; and the subjects of the king who were in England, invoked and obtained his aid to drive hard bargains with his subjects in America. They obtained this aid, because they succeeded in persuading the king and parliament that it was for the public benefit to protect English merchants and manufacturers at the expense of the colonies.

I have said that the English government received neither revenues nor benefit from this oppressive system; all the benefits went to the protected classes in England. They in reality directed, and we may say dictated the colonial policy of the English government. Hence, when, on the passage of the stamp act, the provinces threatened rebellion, these protected classes, fearing the loss of their monopoly of the western trade, interfered, and procured the repeal of that obnoxious act. No man who reads Burke's description of the influences which procured that repeal, can hesitate to conclude that the English merchants and manufacturers directed, at that time, the colonial policy of the British government. This, however, they did, as we have said, under the pretext of the public good—the public good both of England and the plantations. Such examples of anxiety for the general welfare are frequently exhibited. It is said that when a certain sovereign came from Germany to take possession of the British throne, not being an Addison in the English language, he told the people, “Gentlemen, I have come for your goods, for all your goods.” A solicitude similar in degree pervaded the protected classes of England; and their lan-

guage to the colonies through a hundred years was, "We are anxious for your goods—for *all* your goods."

If the English government gained nothing by this restrictive policy, neither did the English labourer. It increased the price of colonial produce to the poorer classes in England; but its most grievous legacy was the corn laws, which were enacted for the protection of the English land-owner, and which were the price for which the landed interest consented to aid the other interests in taking *very* good care of America. These laws, now vanishing, have long been squeezing the marrow from the bones, and the sweat from the brow of the English labourer. Their origin may be found in the coalition of the mercantile, manufacturing, shipping, and agricultural interests, who entered into "a solemn league and covenant" to aid each other in getting exclusive possession of the commerce of the American colonies. Nor was this commerce a small item in the trade of the mother country. In A. D. 1720, the exports from England to the colonies amounted to about two millions and a half of dollars, and employed about one-third of the shipping of that nation. Forty years later, in A. D. 1760, it amounted to about twenty-eight millions of dollars. In all this traffic, there was an unceasing effort to export to the colonies more than was imported from them, in order that there might be a continual balance of trade due to the mother country, the payment of which would draw across the ocean their gold and silver. In fact, the precious metals did disappear from America, and their place was supplied by paper money.

The consequences of this exclusive commerce were soon felt, and might be briefly told by saying that it enriched the merchants, manufacturers, and land-owners of England, and injured the British government, the

British labourers, and the provinces. To the latter it was the source of grievous evils; but these evils became, in the general movements of the world, the means of exciting, animating, and rousing up an injured people to assert their independence.

II. A second cause of the American Revolution is to be found in the conduct of England in the African slave-trade. This grievance was closely connected with the commercial system just considered; and, in certain points of view, made part of that system. Let us briefly examine how the African slave-trade became connected with the fortunes of our country and contributed to American independence.

In A. D. 1620, a Dutch ship sailed into the Chesapeake, and landed a cargo of slaves on the James River. From that time to the present, negro slaves have been found in North America. During the first century of colonial life, a few negroes were from time to time introduced into the plantations. But the eighteenth century opened with events deeply affecting the future fortunes of the black race, and strangely connecting slaves with the career of popular government. By the beginning of that century, the once mighty empire of Spain had grown weak. The line of her ancient monarchs was drawing to an end, in the person of a feeble and dying sovereign; and the war of the Spanish succession lashed the elements of strife into a foam. Louis XIV. wished to place his grandson on the vacant throne of Spain; but England and Germany resisted his wish, and all Europe was thrown into the uproar of a ten years' war. When it ended, England obtained, as her share of the spoils, a magnificent prize. Her prize was the monopoly of the slave-trade. By the treaty of peace at Utrecht, in A. D. 1713, she gained the exclusive privilege of bringing

African slaves into the Spanish West Indies, and to Spanish America. Immediately companies were chartered, ships built, and for thirty years England was the active slave-merchant of the world. Her ships, and her ships exclusively, visited the African coast for slaves; and an immense harvest of profit was reaped from the unholy traffic. The western shores of Africa everywhere bore witness to the activity of her traders, and with British manufactures the Christian nation purchased slaves from the black pagan kings on the African coast. These slaves were shipped to the West Indies, to the Spanish Main, and to the North American colonies. Their importation into the plantations was found a profitable mercantile speculation; and the English slave-ships entered with their cargoes into every port on the Atlantic south of Maine.

But the provinces at an early day dreaded the introduction of negroes. They tried at first to legislate upon the subject, and passed laws prohibiting their importation; but slaves were an article of commerce, and Britain had undertaken to regulate the trade of America. The anti-slavery legislation they attempted consequently came in collision with the legislation of the mother country, and was nullified. Repulsed here, they tried remonstrance upon the subject; but what did English merchants and manufacturers care for a colonial remonstrance? It was opposed to their interests, and was not worth the paper on which it was written. The enduring Quaker might talk of the light of God in the soul, and assert that man was of divine right free; the Puritan might remonstrate against trafficking in the image of his Creator; and the planter of the south might send his petition to the throne, that he might not be overrun by negro slaves; but all these petitions, remonstrances, and

sublime truths, were unheard and unheeded in the onward thundering of the great Juggernaut of commercial interest. English merchants, counting their money, and eating their beef and pudding, thought only of making yellow guineas out of black Africans.

The colonists were, however, strenuous in their opposition to the slave-trade, notwithstanding their legislation had been disregarded, and their remonstrances treated with neglect. The Penns tried to abolish slavery, and prevent the introduction of negroes into the province of Pennsylvania; but the attempt failed. Oglethorpe excluded slaves from Georgia, till the British government ordered their introduction. Virginia persevered in her opposition; "but," says Mr. Madison, "the British government constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to this infernal traffic." South Carolina, like Virginia, tried to close its ports against slave-ships; but South Carolina had recognised the right of the British government to regulate colonial commerce, and her resistance to the slave-trade was ineffectual. These efforts did not set bounds to the dark current which interest caused to flow from the African coast. The entire commercial policy of England in reference to this trade may be announced in a single sentence, as follows:

"We cannot allow the colonies to check or in any degree discourage a traffic so beneficial to the English nation."

So said the Earl of Dartmouth in A. D. 1777, when the American jewel was falling from the English crown. His earlship felt the passion which urged the negro upon our country, and cleared at a bound all the hedges and obstructions raised by the people.

But, beside this commercial motive for forcing the negro upon the provinces, there were political consider-

ations which were powerfully operative in bringing about the same result. "Negroes," said the British statesmen, "negroes cannot become republicans; they will be a power in our hands to restrain the unruly colonists." Here was the germ of the opposition of the British government to a cessation of the slave-trade. Mercantile interest, without doubt, suggested the argument; but the government, by adoption, made the suggestion its rule of action, and slave-ships continued to visit every port from Rhode Island to Florida. The colonies were thus kept as an open market for slaves, both for a commercial and political reason—the commercial reason was, rich profits; the political reason was, that negroes could not "become republicans." These two powerful motives kept the whole sea-coast open to the slave-ships; and it was not until the assembling of the Continental Congress, at the breaking out of the Revolution, that the aggregate opinion of the country was announced in an effective manner. Among the first transactions of that body was an act which forbade the introduction of slaves.

The irritation of the provinces in this matter is energetically set forth in a clause introduced by Mr. Jefferson into the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, and which reads as follows:

"He (the King of Great Britain) has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for sup-

pressing every legislative attempt to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and purchase that liberty, of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people upon whom he has obtruded them : thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, by crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another.”

This clause, for reasons affecting Georgia and the Carolinas, was, with several others, stricken out of the Declaration by Congress, before that instrument was signed ; but it is a faithful exposition of the opinion of the provinces upon this subject. They knew as well as statesmen in England that negroes could not here “ become republicans ;” and their knowledge of the motives which induced the British government to persevere in bringing slaves into America, rendered them the more averse to their importation.

The grievances from this source co-operated with others to drive them finally to an assertion of their independence. I mentioned that the slave-trade originated in the commercial system, that prolific parent of many evils. To the same common origin may be referred the next cause of the Revolution, to which we now proceed.

III. The third cause of the American Revolution is found in the decay and destruction of the colonial system of Europe.

We have seen that this severe system was the legitimate child of the commercial system, and was one of the agencies by which the several nations of Europe endeavoured to accumulate gold and silver. The nations which were principally interested in it, were France,

England, and Spain, who each sought to increase her own power and riches from the forests, the mines, the fisheries, and the fields of the new world. The treasures of Montezuma and the Incas, and all the *plunder* of the south, were quickly consumed ; but the West Indies, the valley of the Mississippi, and the immense mountains, plains, and rivers, from Hudson's Bay to Patagonia, revealed perennial fountains of wealth, and charmed the imagination with gorgeous visions, in which were seen "apples of gold in pictures of silver."

Down to the close of the war of the Spanish succession, in A. D. 1713, the nations of Europe paid a tolerable respect to the colonial rights and claims of each other ; but after that time commercial cupidity began to extend its iron arm to the colonies of the rival powers of Europe, and disturb their repose—former objects of national ambition ceased to interest the maritime nations—commerce became the all-absorbing object of attention, and courts and cabinets were swayed by the hopes and fears of merchants. This ascendancy of the commercial interest became speedily destructive of the colonial system. Spain, France, and England, in the hope of gain began to violate the colonial rights and claims of each other. In these invasions England was the aggressor ; France imitated her ; and Spain, after suffering from the rapacity of her neighbours, became bold in playing at the same game. Two consequences followed ; England and Spain engaged in a commercial war in A. D. 1739, and England and France in a war for foreign possessions. Let us trace these two consequences a little in detail.

The commercial war between England and Spain may be connected directly with the monopoly of the slave-trade, which England obtained at the close of the war of

the Spanish succession. By the grant of that monopoly, England acquired the exclusive right of furnishing slaves for the several markets of America and the West Indies; but, excepting this grant, Spain claimed the exclusive commerce of her plantations. The British slave-ships, however, soon interfered with these claims; for, when they entered the ports of Spanish America to dispose of their slaves, they also began to import silks, spices, and all the various articles of commerce. This was an encroachment which the Spaniards were not disposed to tolerate; for it struck at the very life of their colonies. Spain accordingly remonstrated with England, against this invasion of her rightful commerce; but the British government being in these matters much swayed by slave-traders and commercial interests, disregarded the remonstrances, and English ships continued to interfere with the Spanish American trade. After twenty years of irritation upon the subject, the two nations came to an open rupture in A. D. 1739. From that time the nations of Europe ceased to act in concert in regard to their foreign interests; and from that time colonial independence was possible. Previously to this commercial war, a colonial revolt would have received no favour in Europe; but after this time, such a movement was certain to find friends in the European rivals of the mother country.

Thus the English monopoly of the slave-trade, beside its direct effect and grievous evils, also began the ruin of the colonial system of Europe. The war into which England and Spain entered on this account, became, however, merged in the great ocean of European strife; for Frederick of Prussia in A. D. 1741 invaded the dominions of Austria; and soon France, Spain, and Prussia were arrayed on one side, and Great Britain,

Holland, and Austria on the other. All Europe became one great battle-field; and it was not till the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in A. D. 1748, that the general commotion subsided, to be soon renewed with increased fury. The colonial rights and possessions of the three great maritime nations were, during this strife, invaded by each other, and the New World felt the angry passions of the old. For example, the English colonies of North America engaged in aid of their mother country in the expedition to Louisburg, the stronghold of the French on Cape Breton, and indeed in North America. Its capture gave evidence of the power of the colonies; and the preparations by France for its recovery, showed the importance which that nation attached to its foreign possessions.

But it was not till the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had given the world a few years of doubtful repose, that the conflicting claims of France and England in North America put an end entirely to the colonial system of Europe. France had early planted her nurseries in the West Indies, along the St. Lawrence, and at a few widely separated points on the Mississippi. Religious zeal lent its aid to her political projects, and sent French missionaries to the Indians on the great lakes of the north, and in the valley of the west. By discovery, exploration, and partial settlement, she claimed the valley of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, and soon perceived the policy of uniting these territorial possessions, and making of them one grand colonial empire. In accomplishment of this purpose, French forts were constructed at different points along the St. Lawrence and the lakes; and another series along the Mississippi and its tributary streams towards the north. It was certainly

a grand project to unite Canada and Louisiana, and make them one united and continued French possession.

But how did such a project harmonize with the pretensions of England and her American provinces? It was an interference with these pretensions, and an intolerable restriction upon her plans and prospects. It was an interference, because the territorial claims of England extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. With the exception of a few provinces, each colony was limited westward only by the great ocean. But if the French gained the valley of the Mississippi, the Alleghany Mountains, and not the Pacific, would become the western boundary of the English settlements; for every spring and stream that rose and flowed on the west of those mountains, emptied its waters into the Mississippi, and was within the French claim—the Tennessee, the Ohio, the Illinois, the Cumberland, the Missouri; in a word, all the rivers between the Alleghany and Rocky Mountains, even to their fountain-heads, were on French soil. To allow France the possession of this great valley would confine the English entirely to the Atlantic border, and indeed would, in all probability, ultimately exclude them from the American continent. Such a claim on the part of France struck, therefore, at the very life of their most valuable possessions; and was, both by the colonies and by Great Britain, immediately resisted. The French proceeded, however, to erect forts along the Ohio and northern lakes; and hardly was the ink of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle dry, when this new cause of commotion began to develop itself.

Remonstrances and demands, projects and counter-projects passed between London and Paris, and still the operations of the French on the head waters of the Mississippi continued. The Anglo-Americans themselves be-

came alarmed at the prospect of falling under the dominion of the French, and took up arms; England sent her soldiers; Braddock and Washington marched for Pittsburgh, and encountered a fatal resistance from the French and Indians on the Monongahela. And yet, while Frenchmen were building forts on the Ohio, and Indians yelling along the western slope of the Alleghany Mountains, the courts of London and Versailles were bowing with diplomatic politeness, and renewing to each other "the assurance of their distinguished consideration." But slowly the fire of hostility between the two nations kindled. It sent forth a warning smoke from Braddock's field—it sparkled—it burst into a blaze—it wrapped the civilized world in its flames.

War was declared between the two nations, and North America was the prize. This was, in its origin, a colonial war. It began on the Ohio; but soon involved all the powers of Europe. Its battles were fought in the heart of Germany, in the Netherlands, in Spain, and on the Atlantic; while far away, on the other side of the globe, in the Indian Ocean, in Hindostan, in the valley of the Ganges, and in the picturesque gardens of Asia, French and English soldiers met in the deadly strife; and Rajahs and Asiatic peasants were frightened by a struggle for the Mississippi valley. In North America itself, the provinces entered into the contest according to their ability. Wolfe died before Quebec—Ticonderoga and Crown Point heard the cannonade; and through all the strife, the colonies along the Atlantic stood side by side with their mother country. They were part of the prize for which the world had been thrown into an uproar; and their apprehension of falling under the dominion of France, caused them to contribute their money and

their blood to the warfare ; and they sent their sons to fight on the north and west.

This seven years' war closed with the peace of Paris, in A. D. 1763. Its results were fatal to the power of the French in North America—they lost all their possessions there. The British gained Canada, and the whole country west, as far as the Mississippi river. All the region lying east of that river, and extending away towards the remote north, came into the undisputed possession of Great Britain ; France lost all—her whole power in North America was annihilated.

The results of this contest to the Atlantic colonies were very important, and deeply affected the future fortunes of America. The French, while in possession of Canada, kept them always in fear of being subjected to France, and operated like an external pressure, to force them into closer union with Great Britain ; but when, by the conquest of Canada, they were relieved from this pressure, they were more at liberty to dispute the pretensions of their mother country. This result of the war was, therefore, of great benefit to them in respect to their liberation from Great Britain. Farther, by this war the colonial system of Europe lost its balance, and was, in fact, completely overturned. France was no longer interested with England, in the common cause of making gain from the New World. Her interest in North America was destroyed, and as England had stripped her of her foreign possessions, she stood ready to reciprocate the favour, and to aid in unfrocking her rival, either through the agency of a colonial revolt, or by any other available means.

The leading nations of Europe had, therefore, no longer the same interests in America—man and Liberty gained what France lost, and the independence of the

American provinces became a practicable affair. This was another result of the commercial wars, which was of great service to our country.

The colonies were thus freed from the presence of a dangerous and dreaded enemy in Canada, and gained in France a friend to assist them in their struggle for liberty. But besides these two beneficial results, they derived other very material advantages from the same "gentle and joyous Passage of Arms," inasmuch as it accustomed them to union among themselves, and taught them the advantages of acting in concert. They also learned from it the extent of their own force and resources, and took some valuable lessons in the military art.

We have mentioned, that in these contests the thirteen colonies stood side by side with their mother country. But notwithstanding this assistance, when the seven years' war ended, they found themselves yet more oppressed than before it commenced—for that war was made the foundation of other impositions by Great Britain. England adopted a species of logic which was more convincing in the curtained cabinets of princes, than among the "diggers' up of trees-roots" in America. She reasoned in substance as follows: "To preserve the American colonies, I have waged a grievous war—I must derive a part of the expenses of that war from them—I have defended them, and therefore will tax them."

IV. This brings me to another cause of the American Revolution; namely, the attempt of Great Britain to tax the colonies.

The stamp act and tea duty have been interwoven into the history of our Revolution, and figure very extensively in Fourth of July orations. But were these the

first attempts of England to tax the colonies? Not at all. Run your eye along the map of history till you approach the commencement of the last century. What are the New Englanders, the Yankees of that "long time ago," then doing? They are driving on a profitable business with the French West Indies, in the importation of sugar and molasses. And what do they make of these sweet articles? Rum. Shipping into the northern ports immense quantities of West India molasses, they distilled it, and made large profits. This interfered with the interests of English manufacturers and West India monopolists; and in A. D. 1733, the British parliament regulated this trade by imposing a heavy duty on sugar and molasses. This was the first tax laid by Great Britain on her American plantations. Even this, however, was done under the pretence that the duty was a *commercial* regulation, and not a tax for revenue.

But commercial regulation though it might be, the New Englanders refused to submit to it. The duty imposed amounted to a prohibition—but smuggling evaded the act of parliament, and rum continued to be manufactured, to the great annoyance of England. The sugar and molasses soured instead of sweetening the parties. Britain was willing that her colonies should have slaves; but to manufacture rum in Boston was contrary to English morality—that is, to English commercial interests. But it was reserved to another generation to develop the results of a direct tax imposed upon America.

In A. D. 1764, the celebrated stamp act was inconsiderately passed, and afforded the occasion of manifesting the views of the provinces respecting their connexion with Great Britain. Let us detail a few of the facts connected with this celebrated act, and then we can more clearly

perceive the position of our country at this interesting period.

What was the stamp act? I need hardly inform you that it proposed to raise a revenue by compelling the colonists to write their notes, deeds, bonds, wills, and other commercial and legal instruments, on paper or parchment which, like coin, was stamped with figure-heads and other devices. For every such piece of paper or parchment, a tax varying from a few pennies to eight or ten pounds, was to be paid to the English treasury. In a word, it was a tax on the industry of the colonies. Its injustice roused their indignation, and it was everywhere vehemently opposed. In Boston it produced riots; and violent opposition was made to it from Massachusetts to Georgia. The English merchants and manufacturers became alarmed—they dreaded the loss of their monopoly of the American trade—and at their urgent entreaty, the obnoxious act was repealed.

High blazed the bonfires of joy throughout America when the repeal was announced. But the exultation was evanescent; it was the halloo of those not yet out of the woods; for, in the next year, another attempt was made to impose a tax upon them. Parliament passed an act laying certain duties on tea, paper, glass, and other articles, upon their importation into the colonies. They had hitherto, for reasons already stated, acquiesced in the numerous restrictions imposed by the twenty-nine acts of parliament upon their commerce. They had sometimes, it is true, grievously murmured; but for a whole century they had submitted to the commercial system of Great Britain. In all these restrictions, the British parliament had never pretended to raise a revenue from a tax on their labour; on the contrary, its legislation for them was all professedly directed to

the regulation of commerce. But now an attempt was made to tax them for the avowed purpose of raising a revenue for the treasury in England. The stamp act had been passed for this purpose; and the tea bill provided for a similar tax. When this measure was announced in America, a ferment was again created through the country, and again the British merchants and manufacturers became alarmed; and the duties imposed were repealed, except the tax on tea—that remained.

During these proceedings, some of the colonies had ceased all intercourse with Great Britain. To bring matters to a crisis, the English East India Company sent cargoes of tea to New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Charleston, and other ports. But the Americans were united in their opposition to parliamentary taxation; and the tea-ships to New York and Philadelphia, were sent back by the inhabitants to London. At Charleston the tea was landed, and stored away to spoil in damp cellars. At Boston—but you know the story; the Bostonians made an *ocean* of tea.

These attempts at taxation kindled the smoking fire into a blaze; and from the day the tea was thrown into Boston harbour, the authority of England over the American colonies was in fact at an end; for next came the Port Bill, by which parliament closed the port of Boston till satisfaction should be rendered for the destruction of the tea—a satisfaction which was received when Cornwallis fired his last shot from the fortifications at Yorktown.

What were the grounds of the violent opposition in America to taxation by the British parliament? That opposition was founded in the whole history and life of the Anglo-Saxon race. The colonists never forgot from what ancestors they were principally descended.

They never forgot that taxes were the free gift of the people who paid them ; and they could not understand how they could give a free gift when they were not present either by representation or otherwise in the British parliament, where the tax was laid and the gift given. They knew the origin of taxation ; they knew that, in the early history of the race from which they were descended, no taxes in money were paid. They had learned that, in the rugged days of English life, an Anglo-Saxon paid his tax with his sword ; with his sword he fought for his chief, and, by its sturdy strokes, discharged his debts to his prince ; and, when in latter times a British House of Commons was formed, it was formed by the kings to obtain grants of money from the people. No English king ever dared, in his hours of greatest tyranny, to impose, of his own authority, a direct tax upon the people. If Charles I. levied duties without the consent of his people, he did it on the claim at least that they had been granted to him ; and he lost his head for taking money without the consent of his people. Not even his claim to regulate commerce could shield him, when his commercial regulations were used for oppressive taxation.

Thus, through all English history, the English people claimed the exclusive right of granting their own money at their own good pleasure to the royal treasury. This was the bold, prominent fact in their domestic history ; and this practice, or right, they considered essential to the existence of a spark of liberty. Their sovereign was armed with the sword ; but while the people held the purse they could direct the sword. By their purse they had purchased many political privileges in the times when the divine right of kings was a fundamental article in the political creed. By the purse they had controlled their sovereign in times when that creed was yielding to

the other belief that the people can make their sovereign and unmake him. To grant their money therefore in their own way, was deemed essential to the very life and being of their liberties.

The American provinces had grown up with these ideas, and made them part of their political theory. The people of the colonies were principally of English extraction, and had drawn from England their elemental notions of political rights. Among these notions was the idea that taxes are the free gift of the people who pay them ; an idea which was deeply inwrought into the very staple and essence of their political notions, and brought forth the fruits of uncompromising opposition to parliamentary taxation.

But ought they of right to be exempt from all taxation? This they did not claim. During generations of toil they had hewn down the forest, and made many laws for their own government. To support their government, to pay the officers of their own appointment, to raise armies for the purpose of fighting the French and Indians, they had always taxed themselves. But by what authority did parliament tax them? Where did parliamentary taxation begin? where end? or why begin at all? These were grave questions, which were asked by adventurous emigrants on this side of the Atlantic ; but, on the other side of the Atlantic, the facts contemplated, and the reasonings founded upon them, were somewhat different. It was there alleged that Great Britain had defended the colonies against the French and Indians. Had not Braddock fallen on the Monongahela, and Wolfe on the St. Lawrence? Had not British armies fought in every region of the world for the preservation of their rights? And was Britain entitled to no remuneration for such sacrifices? Such were the questions

and allegations of men in Great Britain; and, in view of these matters, and of all the relations of the colonies to England, parliament asserted the right to tax them in all cases whatever. This was expressly announced in the Declaratory Act of A. D. 1766, which accompanied the repeal of the stamp act.

What answer did the men in the woods of America make to these transatlantic questions and assertions? They denied that great benefits had been conferred upon them by Britain; or that, if benefits had been conferred, they did not warrant Britain in oppressing them with an iniquitous taxation. It must be admitted that they did not speak or act very consistently with each other in regard to the extent of parliamentary authority over them. I mean that there did not exist through the colonies much uniformity of views or conduct in regard to the rights of parliamentary interference. Some of them had, long before the passage of the stamp act, denied the right of parliament to exercise any authority over them; others had admitted the right of that body to legislate for them in matters of commercial regulation, but no farther. The truth is, there was not even in America any recognised or settled line by which the colonial legislation of parliament was bounded; but this diversity of opinion grew less and less and gradually disappeared; and a few years before the commencement of the Revolution they became pretty uniform in denying the right of parliament to exercise any authority over them. They had acquiesced in the legislation of that body so long as its legislation was ostensibly directed to the regulation of commerce. They had indeed often murmured and smuggled; but still they acquiesced. But now, when parliament advanced in its claims to legislate for them generally, they began to deny its authority. Nor were they

contented with merely acting on the defensive; for, pretty much in proportion as Great Britain sought to increase and extend her authority over them, they sought to reject what she had formerly exercised; and by the time parliament announced its right to legislate for them in *every* case whatever, they denied its right to legislate for them in *any* case whatever.

This was the result at which the parties arrived by the year 1776. By that time the colonies had become tolerably unanimous in their views respecting their relations to Great Britain. These views, when drawn up in form, and as entertained by Jefferson, Adams, Hancock, and others, may be briefly stated as follows:

The British parliament has full power to legislate for that part of his majesty's dominions which lie in England, Ireland, and Scotland. Over these islands its legislative authority is supreme. In like manner the legislature of Virginia has authority to make laws for that part of his majesty's dominions which lie in Virginia. Over this region *its* legislative power is supreme. The other colonial legislatures are clothed with powers similar to those possessed by the legislature of Virginia, and each is supreme within its territory. The legislature of Virginia has no right to make laws for the people in Great Britain, nor has parliament a right to legislate for the people of Virginia in any matter. In a word, the legislatures of each of the provinces and the parliament of Britain, are all on the same foundation: each is a legislative body for a province of the British Empire. If his majesty desires money from his province of Virginia, he can get it only by obtaining a grant of it from the legislature of Virginia. If he desires money from his province of England, Ireland, and Scotland, he can get it only by a grant from parliament. If he desires

money from Massachusetts he must ask Massachusetts for it. In each case his request may be refused or it may be granted. But it is intolerably arrogant that men chosen in England, one province of the British Empire, should undertake to legislate for Virginia, another province of the same empire.

This was in substance the theory which the colonists adopted respecting their relation to Great Britain. A few obvious consequences flowed immediately from it, and it soon afforded a pretty wide range for political speculation and action. One of the obvious consequences of this theory was, that the British Empire was composed of numerous parts or provinces, each of which was, in matters of legislation, independent of the others ; each had supreme legislative power within its territory, but no right to interfere with the rest. The British islands were one of these imperial provinces, and each of the American colonies was another. At the head of all these provinces sat his majesty the king. Another obvious consequence of this theory was the annihilation of all parliamentary legislation for the colonies. For the men who adopted such a theory of independent provincial legislation, were not slow to declare the twenty-nine acts of parliament for regulating colonial commerce to be twenty-nine acts of usurpation. They declared the whole century of colonial restrictions by parliament to be a whole century of tyranny, and derided the stamp act, tea bill, and other attempts to subject them to the supreme control of parliament.

These were natural fruits of the theory of independent legislative power. The colonies were, in this view of their relations, each legislatively independent of the rest ; but all having a common head in the king. But soon many bolder spirits in America went a step farther, and

asserted that the English king had no right to any supremacy over them ; and they also affirmed that English emigrants came here to escape from bondage at home—and that, when here, they did not come under the protection or control of the crown. They went farther. They derided the pretensions of the English sovereign to North America ; and asserted that the native Indians were the original owners, and that the colonists, by purchase or conquest from them, had a right to the soil and sovereignty of the country. An Indian deed, with all its rude hieroglyphics of bears, snakes, and canoes, was of infinitely greater worth than a royal patent. This was the more popular doctrine of the northern provinces. It of course struck at the root of all regal and parliamentary authority, and made the people who were on the ground the owners of the sovereignty as well as of the soil.

These views of their relations to Great Britain made the Americans earnest in asserting their intention to take care of themselves. Descendants of Englishmen, they knew the rights of Englishmen—Protestants by religious persuasion, they cherished their political and religious freedom—republicans by practice, they highly valued the rights of self-government—educated in a knowledge of freedom, they never forgot their political instruction ; and far removed from their parent country by three thousand miles of ocean, they grew accustomed to take care of themselves. Thus educated, thus separated from their ancient home, thus left in the woods, thus believing, and thus acting, these “diggers-up of trees’ roots” became bold for liberty, tenacious of their rights, and uncompromisingly hostile to parliamentary taxation.

This repugnance to parliamentary legislation was exhibited at different points of time through all the colonial history. For example, Massachusetts, more

than a century before the Declaration of Independence, had asserted in her remonstrances to England, that her own legislature, and not parliament, was the highest legislative authority known to her charter and laws. Similar denials had been implied in declarations from other provinces; but it was not until the smouldering fires of the Revolution were ready to burst into a flame, that they all, with one accord, united in denying, deriding, and setting at nought the legislation of parliament. Having arrived at this uniformity of belief, they inserted in the Declaration of Independence as one of their grievances, that

“He” (the king of Great Britain) “has combined with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our law; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation for imposing taxes upon us without our consent.” The attentive reader need not be informed that the British parliament were the “others” with whom the king combined, and whose acts of *pretended* legislation were an infringement of colonial rights and privileges. True to their theory that the king, and not the parliament, was the sovereign authority to which they had owed allegiance, the provinces in the Declaration of Independence, laid all their grievances to his charge. He is the great sinner—parliament they do not once name.

This attempt at taxation was the more immediate cause of the explosion between the colonies and the mother country. But we must not forget that there were other grievances which, though of minor magnitude, contributed to the same result.

V. One of these minor grievances was the interference of the British parliament with the colonial currency. We have seen that the main idea of the commercial

system was, that a country grows rich in proportion to its accumulation of gold and silver. To accumulate gold and silver in England, the commerce of America was so regulated that there was constantly a balance of trade in favour of England. In other words, the colonies received more merchandise from England than they sent to England. To pay the difference, their gold and silver were remitted to London, and they were left without a currency. To supply this deficiency, paper money, in the form of bank notes, bills of credit, and other well devised securities, had been issued from time to time in many of the provinces. This paper money system commenced in Massachusetts in the year 1694, and soon attracted the attention of the English government. Royal proclamations attempted to fix the value of gold and silver in America, but failed in the attempt, and when the system of paper money had been adopted by all the colonies except Virginia, royal proclamations endeavoured also to fix its value. In each case there was an attempt to make the precious metals more valuable in England than in America. The provinces were, in consequence of these influences, afflicted with a debased and fluctuating currency; and the attempt to determine its value by regulations in Britain, increased the difficulty. When they became involved in the seven years' war against the French, they raised funds by issues of paper-money; but hardly had that war ended, when an act of parliament declared this very same paper to be no longer a legal tender in payment of debts. This act, made at the close of a war which had borne heavily on several of the colonies, was received with much displeasure. Men in the provinces began to ask where this parliamentary legislation was to end? Virginia, always declining the blessings to be derived from issuing paper money, had made

tobacco a currency. Within her borders, lands were sold for tobacco—horses were bought for tobacco—the bride paid for her ornaments in tobacco—and the lawyers and judges received their fees and perquisites in tobacco. Would the British parliament also regulate this currency? Men began to ask such questions. Men wished to know where the British legislation for America would end. They wished to know why it ever began.

Another of these minor grievances was the exportation of criminals from Great Britain to the colonies. The practice of transporting her convicts and “hard cases” to the plantations had been early commenced by England, and excited much righteous indignation in a country which did not desire to be made the Botany Bay, the receptacle, the prison-house of the felons and vagrants who were unfit for society. The Americans could not understand why they, being English subjects, should be exposed in their property, persons, and families, to robbers, thieves, and other transgressors. But their remonstrances were unavailing, and convicts were every year imported from England, and let loose to prey upon the colonies. The practice was persevered in for half a century, and only ceased at the Revolution.

Other grievances co-operated with those now mentioned, and aided in ripening them gradually for a revolt. Their chartered liberties were threatened; and when the bold conduct of Massachusetts drew the indignation of the British government upon that province, an act of parliament was passed to deprive it of its charter, and vest its government entirely in officers of royal appointment. Similar attempts had been made at different times in several of the other colonies. Hence, they one and all, with great reason, complained that the king, in conjunction with others, had committed grievous inju-

ries "in taking away our charters, abolishing our laws, and altering fundamentally our forms of government." The Declaration of Independence enumerates these grievances in brief and energetic language, and is an admirable synopsis of the opinions and resolutions which were in those days discussed all over an angry and *rebellious* country.

We have now detailed what, in our view, were the leading causes of the American Revolution; and in this detail your attention has been drawn to events and circumstances and influences which were at work, not for a day, but for a century. It is in such remote and continued agencies acting from afar, that the plans and superintendence of Providence are rendered more luminously manifest. The wave that pushes its fellow-wave upon the beach is not the only cause of the ebb and flow of the ocean. To find the true motive power which brings the tides in their semi-diurnal visit to the shore, we must look away from the earth—we must penetrate into the heavens, where the moon and the sun in their daily circuits send forth in quietness the mighty energy which drags vast oceans from their repose. After a manner in some respects similar, the changes which occur in the condition of the world or of nations, are generally the result of causes which have been in operation through a long tract of time. The illegal imposition of ship-money roused the patriotic Hampden, precipitated England into a civil war, cost Charles I. his head, and raised Cromwell to power. The true causes, however, of that revolution lay far back of Hampden's eloquence and imprisonment, and exhibit themselves along a whole century of previous English history. Cross from the British Channel to the Continent, and another grand example illustrative of the

same truth is found. Difficulties in raising revenue compelled Louis XVI. to assemble the states-general; and immediately France was plunged into the fire and fury of a strife which tore to pieces the political organization of Continental Europe. But the causes of that uproar had been at work for more than a hundred years; and through three generations of Frenchmen we can trace the agencies which brought about the French Revolution. In like manner the American Revolution was an event, a result, a consummation, whose causes operated through a century of time. Taxation by the British parliament, like the ship-money of Hampden, or the financial embarrassments of Louis, served as an opportunity or occasion for developing results which had been prepared from afar; but the real causes of the American Revolution, the actual human agencies which produced that event, centred in the commercial system of Europe. To seize upon the commerce of the provinces, to use them as the means of accumulating gold and silver in England, was the one idea which dictated a hundred years of English colonial policy. At the basis of this policy were the several interests—the English merchants, manufacturers, ship-owners, and landholders, who, through the king and parliament, made laws for the oppressive restriction of the poor *outcasts* in the woods of America. I say that it was through the influence of these interests that the colonial liberties were often subjected to violence; for commercial gain was the benefit, and almost the exclusive benefit that England did derive or could derive from our country. To secure this benefit the privileges of thousands of freemen guarantied by charters and other means, were sought to be annulled whenever they came in collision with English interest.

Thus was commerce perverted to the purpose of grievous oppression ; and the commercial system of England, by manifesting itself in various restrictions—in the slave-trade—in the aggressions upon the colonial commerce of Spain, and in divers other forms, became the prominent and central cause of the American Revolution. In a preliminary lecture we represented commerce to be one of the agencies through which the civilization of the European race was effected. The winds and the ocean have been subservient to the cultivation, the refinement, and the intellectual developement of mankind. But the winds and the ocean which wafted in English ships, negroes to America, and American commerce to London, were ministering elements in the partial dissolution of the British Empire. Commerce here, though it was a perverted commerce, nevertheless was promotive of the cause of civilization, for it became the moving power in our liberation from Great Britain. The very cultivation, too, which had been aided by commerce, became conducive to the same result. For, during the century previous to the Declaration of Independence, Mind had made a great advance—the broad field of human cultivation grew riper—philosophy renewed its youth, and mounted up with eagles' wings—political science became better understood—Newton in the heavens, Burke in the parliament, and Franklin in the thunder-cloud, were signs and symbols shadowing forth the march of humanity, and pointing out the road the European race was travelling. In the North American provinces, the race was travelling to national independence. This goal they reached, by the year 1775, when from the hill tops, the mountain slopes, and the valleys, the gathering thousands gave signs that the hour of political redemption was at hand.

And now that we have detailed the causes of the Revolution, permit us to ask, were they not prospective contrivances, agencies, means, adaptations, expedients—all pointing forward to the liberation of the colonies, and to the establishment of a government whose ruling power should be the popular will? That these causes produced these results, we know; and that they were designed in the counsels of Divine wisdom to produce them, we must believe. This liberation and democratic organization were, however, effected through the frost, the fires, the heroism, and the wisdom of the Revolution. To that event I will direct your attention in the next lecture.

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LECTURE VII.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Military and political parts of the Revolution—Adverse circumstances attending the military part : I. Want of money ; II. Want of a well organized army ; III. Want of a general government ; IV. Exposed position of the country ; V. Border warfare of the Indians ; VI. Tories—Favourable circumstances attending the military part of the Revolution : I. Character of the people ; II. Wisdom and energy of Congress ; III. Fortunate selection of military men ; IV. Alliances with foreign nations ; V. Friends in England—Successful conclusion of the military part—The political part of the Revolution—No union among the colonies—Attempts to organize a government—I. The Confederation : Its characterizing features ; (1) Legislation for states ; (2) No sanction to its laws : Its practical operation : Causes of its failure—II. The Constitution : Circumstances of its origin ; Its peculiar nature arising from a compromise of views and interests ; Its characterizing features ; (1) Legislation for individuals, not states ; (2) Power to compel obedience to its laws ; (3) Distribution of executive, legislative, and judicial power—The adoption of the constitution completed the Revolution—Nature of the results obtained by the Revolution—Legitimacy and Democracy—The Revolution the termination of a series of agencies to establish popular government.

WE have examined the causes of the Revolution, and found them to centre in the mercantile system—a system which, in its application to the American plantations, was the great trunk, the mighty stem from which grew the branches, leaves, and twigs, of colonial oppression. Let us now pass to the Revolution itself, and examine its difficulties, its progress, and its completion. By observing the general course of its events, we will perceive in them a continuation of the same system of agencies, and the same series of prospective contrivances,

which characterized the previous movements of colonial history.

The object and success of the Revolution you know. Its work was to dissolve the connexion between Great Britain and the thirteen colonies, and erect them into a separate nation. It began in A. D. 1774, when the Continental Congress assembled to consult upon colonial grievances, and it ended in A. D. 1789, when the present constitution of the United States was “ordained and established.” Of these fifteen years, seven or eight were spent in the frost and fire of the war, and the remainder in experimenting upon the plan of union, and in groaning under the anarchy of the first confederatron. The revolution had, in this view, a military, and a political part; the first contains the uproar of the field, the second the organization of the government. I wish to draw your attention to some general facts and circumstances, both in the military and political parts of this work; for by viewing the Revolution on the battle-field, and in the council-chamber, we will be able to put a proper value upon its heroism, and its wisdom. By looking at it in the connexion of all its parts, by attending to its difficulties and its success, we can rightly appreciate the whole work. Let us, therefore, review the general and characterizing circumstances of the Revolution, first in its military, and then in its political part.

In the military part of the Revolution we have the battles, the victories, the defeats, and the jubilations of success. By the close of the year 1774, it was apparent that the colonies had ceased to petition the crown for a redress of grievances. The arguing was ended; the patience of the colonists was exhausted; armies began to assemble; and the bayonet and rifle were introduced to settle the dispute. That we may rightly understand the

course of the warfare, let us examine first the adverse circumstances, and next the favourable circumstances in which the military part of the Revolution was maintained.

What were the adverse circumstances, the difficulties, the unfavourable elements through which the colonies waged eight years' warfare?

I. The first adverse circumstance which I shall mention is to be found in the fact that the colonies in their united capacity had no money, no public property, no general treasury, and not much credit. They had engaged in the war partly on account of taxation, and were not very willing to impose heavy taxes upon themselves. Nor was the nature of their union very well adapted to remove the difficulties arising from this moneyless condition. Their union was a spontaneous movement; like the offerings of the ancient Israelites, it was of their own free will. Danger from without pressed upon them; and to avert it and maintain their liberties, they made common cause. But thirteen independent states, though engaged in a deadly struggle against a common foe, are not often disposed to give liberal contributions to the common purse; at least the thirteen colonies found it exceedingly difficult and even impossible to maintain a common treasury. The Declaration of Independence announced the common determination to engage in the war; but where was the money to be obtained which would fight the battles of the Revolution? Men may engage with ardour in a great national struggle, where the danger is pressing, and the excitement high. When Napoleon conducted his armies to Russia, a whole nation rose up against him; and the deserts sent forth their wild children to fight the invader. But eight years' warfare, such as our Revolution, required soldiers to be procured, trained and paid, officered and clothed. To

do this required money ; but the Continental Congress, the organ of the thirteen colonies, had no money. Their resources were to be obtained by calling upon the several states to contribute provisions, clothing, the munitions of war, and soldiers. These contributions often came late, and often they did not come at all. General Marion living on potatoes, fighting without pay, providing his own ammunition, and acting the hero at his own expense, is a fair representation of the moneyless warfare of the Revolution.

Great was the embarrassment of this poverty—and it was the more distressing, when contrasted with the resources of the nation against which the colonists were contending. Was Great Britain an old and doddered empire, tottering to her fall? Precisely the contrary. She had the longest purse in Europe. Like Moses, her natural energy was not abated. She was feeding on the rice, and adorning herself with the jewels of India. She was clothing herself with furs from the hyperborean regions of North America, and jingling the guineas gotten by selling Guinea negroes into bondage. And, besides, what was her position among the nations of Europe? France had been worsted in the seven years' war, which closed in 1763. She lost her colonial possessions in America, and was stript of much that she owned in other regions of the world. Holland, absorbed in the pursuits of commerce, was giving her attention to cheese, to spices, and to tea. Spain, despoiled of her European provinces, but still retaining her vast American possessions, was tottering and tumbling from her ancient glory ; her head was too weak for her members ; her central pulsations did not drive the vital fluid to her colonial extremities. Great Britain was, therefore, the ascendant nation, the ruling power of Europe.

With such a nation, holding such a purse, and having such neighbours, the thirteen colonies, without money, and without public property, joined in the strife of the Revolution.

II. Another unfavourable circumstance in the military part of the Revolution, is to be found in the want of a well organized colonial army. This difficulty arose from that moneyless condition of the colonies which we have just noticed. When the Revolution commenced, soldiers were enlisted for a year; and when the year ended the army was in reality dissolved, and a new one was to be formed. The soldiers had, for the most part, been drawn from their domestic occupations, and when arms were placed in their hands, they had acted bravely; but when their time of service expired they claimed their discharge, and new soldiers could be procured only through great difficulty. Money—the sinews of war—was wanting, and that was the cause of many other wants. If Congress issued paper money, it depreciated. If they tried to borrow, they were refused. If they called upon the states to contribute, the states were slow in their movements. And, though the continental money, issued by Congress, was of great and essential service, in rallying the strength of the country in the cause of the Revolution, yet the want of a national treasury kept the army in a state of imperfect organization. Hence, during the whole period of the war, the painful and most embarrassing part of the struggle was to maintain the appearance of an army. It underwent an annual reconstruction, and consequently required an annual re-drilling. Congress might vote pay, clothing, bounties, and battalions; but General Washington was usually in the field with unpaid, ill-clothed, discontented skeletons of regiments. With such materials he was required to

oppose a well officered, well organized, and well paid British army. He constantly, through the whole contest, urged Congress, by every consideration of policy, justice, and patriotism, to provide the means for paying the officers, and establishing a permanent army. But, though Congress acted from motives of the purest patriotism, it lacked the means to comply with his urgent entreaties; and the war was waged with such troops as could be obtained for a campaign. Animated by devotion to the cause of liberty, many citizens through the colonies hastened to the revolutionary camp, and when a short term of service was expired, they hastened home again to supply the pressing wants of their families.

Considered in a mere military point of view, the embarrassments and dangers arising from this unceasing fluctuation of the army, were of the most serious character. The moral grandeur of General Washington is nowhere more luminously exhibited, than in his unremitting efforts to keep together the unpaid and ill-furnished troops of the Revolution. The same benign Providence, however, which preserved the colonies in their infancy, now prepared a man of wisdom to preserve their armies in the poverty of their manhood. To estimate his merits and worth, we must view him at the head of a continually dissolving and unpaid army.

III. Another adverse circumstance in the military part of the Revolution, is to be found in the want of a well organized general government. When the thirteen colonies determined to dissolve their connexion with Great Britain, there was no political union among them. According to the generally received theory, each was an appendage to the British crown, or rather an independent province of the British Empire, and owed allegiance to the king as their paramount lord. In the days of their

infancy there had not been much communication between them ; but, as they grew up and acquired strength, they became acquainted with each other's wishes, and there sprang up between them a union of sympathy. But yet there was no political union among them ; each colony was disconnected with the others, except in so far as they were united by being bound in allegiance to the same sovereign. When the oppression of Great Britain roused them to assert their independence, their first measure was to unite and form one common power, and under the force of this union to make common cause against the enemy. This was an obvious suggestion of reason and policy ; and the several colonies accordingly appointed delegates to a general congress. By this movement they organized a revolutionary union, of which Congress became the organ, and pulsating centre. That body assembled in A. D. 1774, became the depository of colonial power, undertook the management of the Revolution, and through trials and tribulations guided the American people during the whirlwind, storm, and starvation, of eight years' warfare. By this process there was formed a union in fact among the three millions of inhabitants, who were scattered over the hills and valleys, and along the rivers and bays, from Massachusetts to Georgia. This was a voluntary—a spontaneous union ; and Congress, being the body through which it put forth its power, and being, also, a body which acted without law or written constitution, had authority to provide for the general interests just so long as the people approved of its acts.

And yet there was a great feebleness and languid debility in this revolutionary government. The mode of its organization, and the limited nature of its authority, often rendered its acts useless. Congress might vote,

and often did vote, to raise a revenue, organize an army, and furnish the munitions of war. But how were these resolutions to be carried into effect? By Congress? Not at all? The states were the purse-holders, and each state contributed or refused, according to its own particular views of the general warfare. If the acts of Congress coincided with the wishes of a state—the state obeyed. If not—not. Sometimes, also, the legislation of a state conflicted with the legislation of Congress. Whenever this occurred, the state legislation prevailed; for Congress was the creature of the states, and without their continued assent could effect nothing. Congress was, it is true, the central power of the Revolution; but still it was a weak power. It might plan, counsel, debate, vote, make paper money, appoint officers, and direct campaigns; but the whole machinery was still useless, unless the states came up to the work. Such jarring, such feebleness, such dependence upon thirteen different heads, was a most serious evil. A well organized general government, with power to execute what it decreed, would have infused vastly more energy into the military part of the Revolution. The feebleness of the central government compelled General Washington to have frequent, and even unceasing recourse to the several states; and his military operations were constantly embarrassed by the discordant views of thirteen state legislatures. The central government had not power or means even to supply provisions for the army; and Washington and his officers were frequently compelled to levy military contributions from the inhabitants, to preserve the soldiers from starvation.

IV. Another adverse circumstance in the military part of the Revolution, is to be found in the great extent of our country exposed to invasion from the sea-coast.

Navigable rivers opened highways for British armies into the heart of the country. The St. Lawrence, the Hudson, the Delaware, the Chesapeake, the Potomac, the James River, and others, invited British ships to enter, and enabled British forces to intersect the country. Hence, the usual policy of the British commanders was to carry their troops from one point to another by sea. The colonies having no naval power, were unable to prevent the transportation of British soldiers from New York to Charleston, or Norfolk, or wherever else the plan of a campaign on the sea-coast required. As an example of the exposed condition of the country from its navigable rivers and exposed sea-coast, it may be sufficient to mention the well known operations along the Hudson. The British being in possession of the city of New York, had, by the Hudson river, a channel of communication deep into the country. This tempted them to the project of sending an army from Canada, by way of Lake Champlain, to co-operate with another, from New York, by way of the Hudson. This project was the same as that undertaken in the war of 1812, and the design, in each case, was to separate New England from the other states, and, by destroying the communication between the northern and middle provinces, conquer each in detail. But the attempt was, in both cases, a failure. Burgoyne advancing from the north, found willows, instead of laurels, at Saratoga; and the plan was abandoned. Similar projects, though of less magnitude, were, on account of the intersected nature of the country, attempted at other points along the Atlantic coast.

V. Another adverse circumstance in the military part of the Revolution, is to be found in the border warfare of the Indians. When the English colonies began to

establish themselves along the Atlantic, the great Indian power of North America, was the Iroquois, or Six Nations, whose head-quarters were immediately south of Lake Ontario. From that central region they extended their authority towards the east, and south, and south-west; and held in a state of vassalage nearly all the tribes along the Atlantic, from the St. Lawrence to Florida. Another branch of their dominions, with its subject chiefs, lay on the western side of the Alleghanies, and reached for more than a thousand miles along the Ohio and Mississippi. Over this immense region, the Six Nations, from their great council at Onondago, extended their authority, and held in subjection numerous petty tribes. During all the earlier colonial operations in North America, they were friends of the English, and implacably hostile to the French. In the seven years' war, however, the French gained their alliance and aid; but when that war had annihilated the French power in America, the Six Nations returned to their first love, and again became the friends and allies of the English. At the breaking out of the Revolution, these powerful savages became the objects of intense interest to both the contending parties—Great Britain attempting to purchase their aid, and the colonies their neutrality. In this race for the good will of the Indians, the colonies failed, because they had not the means to furnish them with such presents as were offered by the British. This inability was the more deplorable, because the influence of the Six Nations was sufficient to bring against the colonies all the Indians on the north and west. This in fact occurred. From the Mohawk river, round by the lakes, and far down the Ohio, bold Indians became the allies of the British sovereign; and the tomahawk of the child of the wilderness was wielded to desolate the towns, the

fruitful fields, and the retired home of the American citizen. Fierce savages began to yell along the western slope of the Alleghany Mountains, and threatened to desolate the western settlements of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and, indeed, to destroy every vestige of colonial power in the west. Congress tried treaties with them, and was disappointed. They were corrupted into deadly foes, and threatened serious consequences to the cause of independence. Their irruption into the valley of Wyoming, and destruction of that district, caused Congress to undertake measures for their reduction. An expedition planned against their head-quarters, on the north and west of New York, was successfully executed by General Sullivan. A similar expedition against them in the west, on the Wabash and Illinois, was executed by the enterprising Clarke, and its success broke the plans and power of the Indians, and saved the western regions of the states. But this border warfare of the Revolution contains the most thrilling incidents of that excited period. Its origin may be readily traced to the moneyless condition of the colonies at the beginning of the war, and it was a great embarrassment to the Revolution.

VI. Another adverse circumstance in the Revolution, is to be found in the divisions which existed among the colonists. I refer to the Tories. The inhabitants of the colonies had suffered much from Great Britain ; but they were by no means united in their opposition, when that opposition eventuated in open war. Many still cast their eyes to Britain as the land of their birth, and in their far away homes in the New World, cherished a fond remembrance of those dear old times when they were so unhappy. Others who had entertained shadowy, undefined notions of the sacredness of royal power, were

timid, and recoiled from any participation in the contest. Others again passed from one side to another, being one day Britons and the next Americans ; veering round according to their visions of success, or prospects of gain. Hence tories, cow-boys, and other useless and injurious descriptions of persons, were found throughout the country. Many believed, and many pretended to believe, that their oath of allegiance prevented them from taking up arms against their lawful sovereign. These adherents to the royal cause were a serious hindrance to the movements of the revolutionary machinery.

Such were the adverse circumstances through which the war of the Revolution was waged. The want of money, or rather the want of a national treasury and national property, was at the foundation of all the difficulties. For, if Congress had possessed the means of payment, the organization of an army could readily have been maintained, the neutrality of the Indians purchased, the tories converted to republicans, the main passes from the sea-board to the interior defended ; and the power of Congress, though in other respects weak, would have been adequate to the necessities of the Revolution. But in the actual condition of affairs, patriotism and continental money were the main resources of the revolutionary government. To appreciate the exertions of the revolutionary fathers, their means of warfare must not be forgotten.

Providence, however, in his benign dispensations, sends the sweet with the bitter. The cloud by day, the pillar of fire by night, and the stream of water, followed the families of Israel in all their journeys through the great and terrible wilderness. Hope led the wanderers onward. The same bountiful Providence prepared favourable elements for the Revolution ; and, in the darkest hour,

hope loomed through the clouds of adversity. A little stream of heavenly bounty ran along the whole pathway of revolutionary events, and favourable circumstances compensated for the evils which we have just enumerated. What were these favourable circumstances?

I. The first is to be found in the ardour and character of the good people of the colonies. Virtue and intelligence, the essential elements of every republican people, were extensively diffused through the colonial masses. The earlier emigrants were, for the most part, men of stern, upright integrity ; and in their faith and practice were, in a peculiar and emphatic sense, a religious people. Their descendants, and those who followed them across the Atlantic prior to the Revolution, were, in general, men of like passions and hopes with themselves. Basing their political upon their religious creed, they infused into both that liberal spirit, whose manifestations it had been their delight to trace in Divine revelation. Their learning, their political notions, and their faith, were all of the same tincture, and all derived their hue from the same Divine illumination.

In the north, New England had her schools, and colleges, and churches ; and divine and political truth was there widely diffused. The rainbow of heavenly hope curled its graceful arch above the moral horizon. Such light and faith soon produced, in the northern colonies, a popular character, whose most distinctive features were a determination calm and unchangeable, an energy deep, quiet, and irresistible, and a conduct guided by intelligent views of justice, religion, and liberty. This character was matured by the time the colonies were ready to assert their independence ; and New England entered into the contest with patriotic devotion. Massachusetts became the focus of resistance to English im-

positions ; and, when the Revolution commenced, that colony, true to its character, put all its energy into the cause, and maintained its integrity through the storm and fire of the contest.

A similar devotedness to the Revolution was found in other colonies. Virginia entered into the struggle with heart and soul, and purse and muscle. Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and Charleston, were successively in the possession of the British ; but the capture of towns was not to decide the war. The force of the Revolution lay in the country, and received its aid from the devotion of the populace. The commercial cities had done much to begin the open resistance ; but Virginia had no commercial cities, and yet that colony was first and last in the battle. The whole country was moved in its deepest recesses ; and from the log cabins of the back-woods, from the swamps of the south, and from the hills of the north, there was an ardour, a devotion, and a determination, among the popular masses, which administered greatly to the Revolution. Even the soldiers forgot their sufferings in their devotion to the cause, and every roar of the hostile cannon infused new energy into the suffering colonists.

This ardour and self-sacrificing disposition was in harmony with the character of the people. They were intelligent in political matters, and knew the rights of freemen. They had resisted oppression ; and now, when called upon, they endured sacrifices rather than abandon their liberties. They saw, in subjection to Britain, a return to Egypt ; and they had eaten enough of the bitter bread of bondage. They hoped to free themselves from a power which had never sympathized with them, and now desired to tyrannize over them ; and they trusted that a benign Providence would not disappoint their

hope. Enlightened by this knowledge, and animated by this hope, this faith, and this patriotism, they spread the eagle of liberty on Bunker Hill, and halted not in their march till they played Yankee Doodle on the heights of Yorktown.

II. Another favourable circumstance in the Revolution, is to be found in the wisdom of Congress. We have already represented that body as the organ of the thirteen colonies, and the central power that undertook the management of the Revolution. The energy and wisdom of the men who composed it, have often been the subject of deserved praise. They had not only to provide the material of an army, but also to exercise the more difficult task of encouraging the states to support the Revolution. The appointment of officers, the provisions and pay of the soldiers, and the entire machinery of the Revolution, in its internal affairs, was under their guardianship. The external part of the Revolution, the interest of foreign nations in the matter, the procuration of allies from abroad, all this, also, devolved upon Congress; and that body managed all these difficult matters with wisdom, moderation, and energy. In the darkest hour of revolutionary adversity, those patriots remembered their duty. Chased from Philadelphia, they assembled at Baltimore; and, when driven from that city, they assembled at Lancaster. They provided as best they could for officers and soldiers; and, like watchmen on the walls of their besieged country, they gave warning of threatened dangers, and pointed out the means of avoiding impending calamities. In illustration of their energy and wisdom, fix your mind upon the condition of the country, when the first retreat across New Jersey placed Washington and his army on the west side of the Delaware. Philadelphia was threatened—the army was

melting away—the soldiers were murmuring—the officers were dissatisfied—the country on the north was desolated—and the British forces seemed everywhere triumphant. Through all this uproar of the elements, Congress acted with energy, with wisdom, and with a calm dignity and determination, which breathed renewed life into frightened, drooping Freedom.

III. Another favourable circumstance in the Revolution, is to be found in the happy selection of men to whom the conduct of the military affairs was committed. During the forty years preceding the Declaration of Independence, Europe had been embroiled in wars, long, fierce, and bloody. But the North American colonies were strangers to the military science which had been employed in those contests; and, when the Revolution commenced, there were few men in the country who were practically acquainted with the military tactics that had been employed in the armies in Europe. The colonists had acquired some knowledge of the military art in the seven years' war; but the officers of the Revolution, in the commencement of the contest, had recourse to the directions of good native sense, rather than to the matured rules of the military science. Europe, however, sent her officers to aid in the cause of freedom. From Poland came Pulaski and Kosciusko, and contributed their intelligence and their military skill; from Germany came De Kalb and Steuben, and aided to organize our armies and fight our battles; France sent Rochambeau and La Fayette. But though these and other foreign officers contributed military science and valour, yet in the Revolution, as in all other contests for liberty, it was known and felt in America that

“In native swords, and native ranks,
The only hope of courage dwells.”

The eulogium of Washington need not now be written. His duties as commander-in-chief, though most arduous, were performed with a wisdom and decision suited to their importance. The Revolution needed such a man ; for his integrity, patriotism, and sound judgment, both in the field and in the council, rendered him the man capable of defending the country, so far as that defence depended upon a single individual. He lives in the hearts of his countrymen—a whole nation is his monument.

Among his associates in the conduct of military affairs, were Greene, and Lee, and Morgan, and Sullivan, and Wayne, and others, whose energy and love of country infused vigour into the revolutionary armies. And among the many men on whom the conduct of the war devolved, there was a singular combination of the qualities needed in such a crisis. All were devoted to the Revolution—Arnold excepted, and Conway not counted.

IV. Another favourable circumstance in the Revolution, is to be found in the alliances which the colonies formed with the nations on the continent of Europe. The years 1776 and 1777 were the wintry, stormy days of the Revolution ; but when darkness which might be felt had brooded for a time over the land, the star of a better hope dawned in the east. The aid of France had been invoked by the colonies at the commencement of the contest ; but that power being at peace with Great Britain, was not disposed, immediately, to break up the amicable relations of the two nations. In consequence of this wish on the part of France, the colonies obtained no public aid from her, until the surrender of Burgoyne changed the tide of American disasters. But though she gave them no direct and open assistance, she assured

them of her good will, and permitted her citizens to extend their private aid to them. It was manifest, however, that the remembrance of her former losses in America would lead her to take part with them, so soon as a convenient opportunity should arrive. We have already stated that the colonial and commercial rivalry of France and England precipitated them into a war, which ended in depriving France of Canada, and of all her possessions in North America, east of the Mississippi. These events disposed her to join her lilies to our stars; for, having been stripped by Great Britain of her colonial possessions, she was well pleased when the Declaration of Independence announced the resolution of the thirteen colonies to dissolve their connexion with the parent country. Their success would deprive Britain of her colonial ascendancy, and restore the equilibrium of the two nations in the New World. To accomplish this, to sever the cord which bound the American colonies to Great Britain, was, therefore, an all-powerful motive with France. Her pride, her interest, and her national revenge, were alike enlisted to bring about such a result. Accordingly, when the intelligence reached her that Burgoyne had surrendered, and that the Revolution would probably succeed, she recognised the independence of the colonies, and concluded a treaty with them. This, as was foreseen, produced immediately a declaration of war against her, by Great Britain; and, as a consequence, French ships, soldiers, and officers, came to help the colonies. This was a great gain to the cause of the Revolution—But other allies were soon added.

Instigated by France, and desirous of revenging former injuries, Spain also declared war against Great Britain, and joined in the strife. She was ambitious of repossessing herself of the Rock of Gibraltar, where the

British flag then waved ; and the war in which England was now engaged, presented a favourable opportunity for asserting her rights to her former territory.

But still another ally was added. The colonial envoy, Mr. Laurens, having been captured by an English ship, papers were found with him, which intimated that Holland, old liberty-loving, cheese-making Holland, was friendly to the cause of American Independence. The proof was conclusive, the sin unpardonable ; and Great Britain forthwith declared war against Holland. She thus voluntarily added the aristocratic republic of the north to her already numerous enemies, and resolved to fight all Western Europe, and her American colonies besides. This conduct was pretty tolerably bold, and required success to characterize it as wise.

Thus the theatre of the strife was enlarged ; and France, Spain, Holland, and the American colonies, were engaged against Great Britain. In this array of the hostile parties, battles were fought in Europe, on the Atlantic, in the West Indies, in the Mediterranean, and through the American colonies. The armies and fleets of so many powers gave full employment to all the forces of Great Britain ; and, from the year 1777, the subjection of the colonies was a very remote possibility. Great Britain alone, with a long purse, filled with wealth, from Hindostan and the West Indies, would have proved a vigorous and formidable foe. But when France, Spain, and Holland, were thrown into the scale with the thirteen colonies, the contest was changed, and the success of the Revolution rendered exceedingly probable.

This combination of European enemies against Great Britain, in her war with the colonies, was a result which the events of a century had prepared. The colonial

rights and territories of all those powers had been invaded by England, who had driven France from the St. Lawrence, Holland from the Hudson, and made numerous aggressions upon the colonial commerce of Spain. It was, therefore, in accordance with the usual course of human events, that these nations, who had all suffered in the same manner from a common foe, should be found combined in a contest, whose design was to do for Britain what she had done for her neighbours. Such a combination in fact occurred; and American independence was aided by passions and events which made three powerful nations the allies of the rebels. Thus did the invasions of the colonial system of Europe, which were commenced by England against other nations, finally bring a concentration of forces to deprive her of her own colonial possessions, and procure for the Revolution, friends and allies in Europe.

V. Another favourable circumstance in the Revolution, is to be found in the strong party in Britain who were friendly to the colonists. Through the war it was not forgotten in England, that the Americans had drawn their love of liberty, and the outlines of their political organization, from the British islands; and the question was asked, where would liberty in Britain be, if tyranny was established in America? A strong party, therefore, in England, became friendly to the cause of America; and their friendship was, perhaps, not abated by the fact, that they were, in general politics, opposed to another party at home—the tories. Many of the whigs in England represented the cause of the colonies as the cause of English liberty; and in the early stages of the dispute, while it was yet all heart-break and no bloodshed, they besought their government to grant the demands of the colonies for a redress of grievances. When independ-

ence was declared, the Whigs still asked the government to cease the strife, and make the best bargain possible with the colonies. Fox, and Pitt, and Burke, and Barré, and Conway, have been identified with those who were friendly to America. To what extent their professed friendship was the result of the party warfare between the whigs and tories, it is unnecessary now to specify. All that it now concerns us to represent, is the fact, that the cause of America was warmly espoused by these and other leading men in Britain. I do not mean that they advocated the independence of the colonies; they all stopped short of that result. Pitt would have hanged all the leading men in America, from General Washington to the door-keeper of Congress, rather than dismember the British Empire by the independence of the colonies. But their opposition to the policy of their government in relation to American affairs, enfeebled the measures undertaken for the reduction of the colonies, and promoted the Revolution. Burke was the parliamentary orator in behalf of America; but while his eloquence flowed in a profuse stream, and his argument bore down all opposition, he, himself, retreated from the idea of American independence. The unity of the British Empire was an elemental truth, which even political partyism in England held sacred, and which cut through and arrested the argument and oratory of the parliamentary friends of America. But the Revolution was favoured by their early defence of its justice; and when they abandoned it, and attempted to arrest its career, France, Spain, and Holland, came to its support.

Thus were provided the favourable circumstances which aided in bringing the military part of the Revolution to a successful termination. By the representation just presented, these favourable circumstances are found

in the character of the colonists—in the wisdom of Congress—in the fortunate selection of men to conduct the Revolution—in the alliances which the colonies formed with the nations of Europe, and in the opposition in England to the war. These were the main influences by which the Revolution was sustained. All things are set over one against another, says an old writer, when comparing the Divine government with the arrangements of external nature. Applying the idea to the events before us, we may say that the favourable influences of the Revolution were set over against the adverse influences. The spirit of evil was vanquished, when fighting with the spirit of good for the dominion of the world; so, at least, Persian theology represented the matter. In like manner, the good influences of the Revolution prevailed over the evil. But to the colonies it was a time of trial, of endurance, and of affliction—afflictions to be compensated by blessings, extending, we trust, through generations to come.

Were we to make a military map of the Revolution, we would readily perceive that its campaigns were diffused over the whole geographical extent of the country. Expeditions were undertaken against Canada on the north, and against the Indians on the northwest and west. Battles were fought in New-England, along the Hudson, in New Jersey, in Pennsylvania, and in Maryland. The Carolinas and Georgia were scenes of the most active hostilities. The James River was the chosen region of British aggression; and Virginia, like New Jersey, suffered the evils of an active invading army. But through all the changing aspects of the contest, in the hours of sorest adversity, the revolutionary worthies still beheld the bow of promise.

American Independence was, however, involved in

the contests which were raging in Europe. France was at war with Britain ; Spain, under French control, was waging desperate warfare for the Rock of Gibraltar ; and Holland was fighting for the West Indies. Peace between America and Britain depended upon peace between all these belligerents ; and when Britain, tired of the contest, was disposed to recognise the independence of the thirteen colonies, there was danger that the conflicting interests of the European allies would prolong the struggle. But the failure of Spain in her terrible onslaught upon Gibraltar, the defeat at Yorktown, and the decided tone of the colonial Congress, at length disposed all parties for peace. The contest was changed from the field to the cabinet ; and under the direction and counselling of Franklin, and Adams, and Jay, and Laurens, peace was concluded, and independence acknowledged.

These were the favourable and unfavourable influences through which the military part of the Revolution was conducted, and under which the cause of liberty triumphed. To the events connected with this triumph, our republic looks back with gratitude ; and, like every other nation, clusters thousands of fond associations around the heroes and martial deeds which ushered in the morning of its birth-day. Bruce, and Wallace, and Bannockburn, are names whose very sound warms the heart's-blood of the Scot, and quickens into life and action all the energies of patriotism. Saratoga, Yorktown, and Washington, are names of similar power in our own history ; and a nation rises up to rejoice, when the cannon of the Fourth of July awakens the memory of revolutionary heroism.

Having disposed of the military part of the Revolution, we pass on to a consideration of the events which characterized the latter part of that period. Peace was

announced and independence acknowledged by Britain in the year 1783. Six years later, in 1789, the present national constitution went into operation, our republic was established, the Revolution perfected, and the end of American colonization attained. The events of these six years belong to the Revolution, and form its organizing or political part. For, to what desirable end would all the heroism of the Revolution have conducted, if the country had remained split up into a number of little independent sovereignties? Each would have interfered with its neighbour; and, as it was in Europe in the times when every feudal baron was an independent chief, the general prosperity would have been sacrificed to local interests. Popular government in America required the Revolution to bring about a different result. The end to which the general current of events in American history had moved, required that democracy should be tried on a large scale. Accordingly, the Revolution closed in 1789 by the construction of the states into a single republican nation. Let us inquire a little into the process by which this national organization was effected, and this inquiry will conduct us to a statement of the nature and peculiar features of our republic.

Whoever desires to form an idea of our national organization must keep steadily in mind the independent and disconnected origin of the thirteen colonies, or thirteen states as we may now call them. From the general course of observations already made, as well as from explicit statements, we have given considerable prominence to the fact, that the colonies, prior to the Revolution, had no direct political connexion with each other. There was no direct union between Virginia and Pennsylvania, or Massachusetts, or between any of the others. There was, however, an indirect political con-

nexion, in their common dependence upon the British crown. All the colonies owed allegiance to his majesty the king. Consequently, when at the Declaration of Independence the colonies each and all renounced this allegiance, and dissolved their connexion with their common head, there was no longer any political union among them, either direct or indirect. There was a union of sympathy, it is true ; for they all derived their origin from the same parent country, spoke the same democratic language, had the same general system of laws, and had been subjected to the same oppressions. But there was no political union, no legal cord binding them together ; each was independent of the rest. During the fires of the Revolution, necessity forced them together. They desired to escape from the bondage of Great Britain ; and this common desire, as well as the power of the nation with which they had to contend, compelled them to make a common defence. There was, therefore, *in fact* a union among them which was coeval with their independence, and had its origin in the *very act* that separated them from Great Britain. But this union was voluntary in its origin and temporary in its nature : it was merely a league of states for securing an object of common interest, and a league which, from its very nature, would be dissolved when that object was attained. In the process which changed this temporary union into a permanent government, is exhibited the great wisdom of the revolutionary patriots and statesmen. The names of Franklin, and Adams, and Hamilton, and Jefferson, and even of Washington, derive their brightest radiated circles of glory from the share which those men had in organizing and establishing our national government. There is no portion of our history of more intense interest or of greater value than

that which details this organizing process ; a process which began indeed with the Revolution, but which was not completed till the adoption of the constitution in 1789. Let us examine it briefly in its several stages.

I. The first attempt to form a permanent union among the states, resulted in that system of government designated by the name of the Confederation. When we say that this was the first attempt to form a union of the states, we do not wish to cut out of our history the fact that there had been partial attempts at union among some of the colonies at a much earlier day. One of these attempted unions was the league between the New England colonies, which was formed almost coeval with their settlement, and subsisted for nearly half a century. During the seven years' war, attempts were made to form a league among the colonies for common defence against the French and Indians ; but the particular plan proposed was not received with favour. Great Britain also grew alarmed at the power which such a confederation would give, and it was abandoned. When the Revolution brought the colonies into an actual union, measures were immediately taken to render it permanent ; and, on the same day that Congress appointed a committee to draft the Declaration of Independence, another committee was appointed "to prepare and digest the form of a confederation to be entered into between the colonies." The dangers of the Revolution, and the difficulties of the country, prevented any immediate action in the matter ; and five years elapsed before any plan of union was adopted. In 1781, however, the Confederation came into being. Let us examine a little into its nature.

The prominent, leading characteristic of the Confederation consisted in the fact that it was a government

for the thirteen states considered as states. It did not direct its legislation to individuals, but to sovereign states. Here was its weakness; for states could not be punished for disobedience. What was the consequence? It said to one state, "Go," and it went not. It said to another state, "Do this," and it did it not. Was money wanted? The Confederation provided that the states should be called upon to contribute money; and they contributed what they pleased. Were soldiers wanted? The Confederation provided that the states should furnish soldiers, and the states furnished as many or as few as they deemed proper. Were treaties to be made with foreign nations, the confederation provided that Congress should make treaties. When made, the states might observe or violate them, as they saw fit. The whole theory was faulty. The very life and soul of the system, if it had any life and soul, consisted in directing its legislation to states, and not to individuals. A government to be effective must have power to enforce its laws; but no such power existed in the confederation; for its legislation was not directed to individuals, but to states.

How did such a government operate in practice? We might almost say it did not operate at all. The defects just noticed were fatal. Even while the Revolution continued the confederation grew weak. When the peace of independence was concluded, it grew weaker; and with every returning year its powers became more and more feeble, till at length it seemed ready to expire from mere debility. As an illustration of its inadequacy to the wants of the country, take the condition of commerce during this first form of union. We have represented the restrictions of Great Britain upon the commerce of the colonies as the long operating cause

of the Revolution. Now that the Revolution had separated us from Great Britain, what provision was made for the commerce of the states? There was none. Commercial regulations constitute a great portion of modern legislation; yet under the confederation Congress might recommend regulations for commerce; but state interests paid little attention to congressional recommendations, and the consequences were ruinous in the extreme. The war of the Revolution had nearly destroyed the commerce of the country. Consequently, the commercial interests of the states required the fostering care and guardianship of the Union. Britain still steadily pursued her commercial system; and, unless the states counteracted her navigation acts by similar measures, their traffic would still lie in ruins. But the states, in this as in most other matters, had conflicting interests and no unity of action. If Virginia tried to protect her tobacco interest, Pennsylvania and New York adopted interfering measures. If Pennsylvania, to protect her iron interest, imposed duties on its importation, Massachusetts and Maryland admitted it duty free. If New York and the New England states taxed foreign wool to favour their own wool-growers, the Carolinas and Virginia defeated the protection by importing wool and woollen goods. By such jarring and spasmodic legislation the industry of the country was prostrated. Massachusetts could not cultivate wool, Pennsylvania could not manufacture iron, Virginia could not grow tobacco, nor the Carolinas cotton. The people were sick, but knew not what ailed them. Some of the states had been impoverished, or greatly reduced by the war of the Revolution; and the union under the confederation gave them no facilities of relief from their distresses.

There were also many circumstances of a peculiar

nature, which contributed to impede the little action which the confederation might have put forth. One of these impediments was the depreciation of the paper money with which the country had been flooded during the Revolution. The moneyless condition of the states, at the commencement of the war, has been already noticed. Congress tried to remedy this evil, by issuing the paper, known as continental money. By means of this expedient, they had rallied the country to the support of the Revolution, and relieved their immediate and pressing necessities. Several of the states, also, issued their own paper money. But the usual fate of government paper attended all this currency. By the time that the confederation was formally adopted, the continental money and state paper were fast running down. A pound of butter would sell for fifty dollars, paper money; two hundred dollars would buy a breakfast, ten thousand a horse, and five hundred a hat. By-and-by these prices increased. Acts of Congress attempted to maintain the value of the continental money; but like the assignats of the French Revolution, it *would* depreciate in defiance of all legislation. A million of gold would have supported it better than a million of congressional acts. But the power which issued the paper having no gold or silver for its redemption, its value continually decreased; and it finally died in the hands of the people, to the enormous nominal amount of three hundred and fifty millions of dollars.

We notice these facts as exhibiting some of the peculiar circumstances which opposed the feeble action of the Confederation. With a smooth sea, and a gentle breeze, such a ship of state might have been borne quietly along; but in the stormy times which closed and followed the war of the Revolution, a stronger vessel was

needed. In the actual condition of the country at that time, an energetic general government was required ; but the confederation had no energy. The bones in the valley of vision, as seen by the prophet, were not only gathered together, clothed with muscle, and covered with skin, but the breath of life was breathed into them. They then, and then alone, became a great army. But in the Confederation there was a system, an organization, but no vitality or power.

This weakness of the general government was, however, in accordance with the political ideas prevalent in the country at the time of its adoption. The states had just thrown off one governing power in Great Britain, and they feared to establish another. They were apprehensive that a strong central power would absorb the little states. To decry such a government has always been a golden theme in our country, and was a theme particularly popular at the close of the Revolution. The doctrine of state sovereignty was then highly esteemed. The people looked upon a general government as a type—a faint type it might be—but still a type of the British government, from whose domination they had just been delivered. They regarded the state governments as the guardians of liberty, and desired to interpose them as the shield of protection against the tyranny of a general government. These views produced the characterizing feature of the confederation ; namely, legislation for states, and not for individuals. In a word, the people feared to part with power in such quantities as would do them any harm ; and in their extreme caution, they did not give to the general government power to do them any good.

Is it then matter of surprise, that experience soon announced the Confederation to be a failure ? The dis-

contents arising from its debility grew alarming. In Massachusetts open rebellion revealed itself, and all forms of government were denounced as aristocratic. Wise men everywhere saw that the existence of liberty, and the final establishment of the Revolution, required a new and more energetic national government. Here was the great benefit of the Confederation. It taught the people the necessity of a stronger government. The Jewish ritual preceded the fuller diffusion of Christian light. The world had first to learn what human nature could do under a less perfect system, that it might put a proper value upon the glories of that last Divine dispensation, which brought life and immortality to light. In like manner, the defective Confederation preceded the more perfect Constitution, and taught men the necessity of a closer union. The instruction it gave was obeyed; and, in 1789, a more perfect union was formed, by the establishment of the present Constitution. Let us enquire a little into its nature and characterizing features.

II. And here it may be proper to remark, that the American colonies were the first to adopt written constitutions. Through all the hubbub, and barbarism, and crimes which circulated over centuries of European history, no attempt was made to adopt written forms of government. England at the present hour has no formal written constitution. What she calls her constitution is merely that body of customs or usages which has grown up through a long tract of time, and which is now recognised to be of binding obligation upon those who govern the country. Charters have been, on several occasions, signed by English sovereigns, German emperors, and other princes; but these were merely papers in the nature of a bill of rights—documents ac-

knowledging the privileges of the subject and his freedom from specified oppressions. Europe might have had a different history if her several nations had established written constitutions, prescribing definitely the rights of the people, the rights of the sovereign, and the frame-work and machinery of the government. This, however, was not done ; and the European race required centuries of strife to fight itself into political shape. The American colonies, on the contrary, early adopted written forms of government in the respective provinces. This practice was continued at the Revolution ; and the several states then either adopted specific constitutions, or continued to act under charters and forms which already existed. In their united capacity the states pursued the same plan ; and, after trying the confederation, they framed, adopted, and put in operation the Constitution of the United States.

To understand the nature of this Constitution, we must remember the circumstances in which it was adopted, and the end it was designed to accomplish. The circumstances which gave it existence are familiar to every American, and need not be more than cursorily suggested here. The confederation had been found entirely inadequate to the wants of the Union. A convention of a few of the states, to consider the condition of commerce, and devise some system of harmonious action relative to that branch of industry, gave rise to the convention which framed the constitution. But the difficulties which stood in the way of a new plan of union, were many and great. We have already intimated the reasons which operated in stripping the confederation of its strength. It was feared that a strong central government would tyrannize over the states. This fear, as we have just mentioned, gave birth to the feeble confedera-

tion, and now it manifested itself in opposition to the Constitution. In the convention which framed that instrument, men of powerful intellect took ground in favour of the old confederation. They preferred weakness to tyranny. Sectional interests also came in collision; southern slave-holders feared the free labour of the north; the commercial interests of New England could not be reconciled with the peculiar views of the other states. The small states feared the large ones, and desired a government in which the states should have an equal voice. The large states desired a government in which numbers alone should be the rulers. In a word, every shade of political opinion appeared in the convention. The Constitution was a compromise of all interest, and of all theories. This gave it many peculiar features; and it is in view of this compromise, that many of its provisions are to be interpreted: such as the provision for an equal representation of the states in the Senate, the representation of the slave population of the south, the popular representation in the House; and other peculiarities. From this compromise it derived an originality, a character of its own, and also a dissimilarity from other known forms of government. Questions have been asked, whether the constitution is a *compact* of the states, or a government on a *directly popular* basis? or whether Congress was not modelled after the British Parliament, or the States-General of France, or the Cortes of Spain, or the States of Holland? But these inquiries proceed upon a forgetfulness of the circumstances which impressed a peculiar character upon our national charter; for, viewed in the light of the compromise which gave it existence, the constitution is neither a compact of the states, nor a directly popular government; but it is the *Constitution of the United States*. It has its

peculiar features, its originality, and a character and nature of its own; all derived from the circumstances in which it came into being. After its adoption by the people in state conventions, the new government it created was organized by the inauguration of President Washington in 1789.

(1.) The characterizing features of the constitution you will readily perceive by contrasting it with the confederation. The confederation directed its legislation to states. The constitution, on the contrary, directed its legislation to people, to individuals as individuals. It did not provide for raising armies, coining money, and executing treaties through the medium of the states—

“No more of that, Hal,”

as old rollicking Falstaff said. No more of the condemned farce of carrying on a national government by the help of state action. There had been enough of that. Accordingly, the constitution directed its legislation not to states, but to individuals. Here was its first distinctive feature, a broad deep line running across its whole face. I do not say that in no case is the action of the states necessary under the constitution; for they have senators to appoint, congressional districts to establish, and other similar duties to perform. But the main machinery of the national government, and the execution of its legislative acts, are independent of state action.

(2.) By comparing it with the confederation, we observe in the constitution another feature of equal extension and distinctness with the one just mentioned. This is the power which it has to compel obedience to its laws. In other words, the national government was clothed with authority to execute what it commanded.

The old confederation might command the states ; but the states, like spoiled children fed on sugar-plums and other bonbons, obeyed or disobeyed, as they pleased. If they obeyed, they were good dutiful children, and were patted on the head in token of approbation. If they disobeyed, they were coaxed—if they still disobeyed, they were farther coaxed—if they still disobeyed, they were let alone. The constitution changed all this. If money was wanted, Congress was empowered to raise money. If soldiers were needed, Congress was authorized to procure them. If treaties were made, the national government was clothed with power to execute them. If the laws of Congress were disobeyed, the delinquent was punished. In a word, a national government was created, and clothed with power to take care of itself. The states were left in possession of all authority not given to this new central organization. They were to attend to the duties of their internal governments, as though they were independent sovereign states ; being, however, bound to remain republics. But the national government was intrusted with all affairs of common interest ; and commerce, peace, and war, and kindred matters, were committed to its guardianship. Its limits are defined, and within them it is uncontrolled by interference from the states. Within its proper bounds it is a complete and self-acting government, and has full power to compel obedience to its commands.

(3.) Another peculiarity of the constitution, exhibited by contrast with the confederation, deserves to be noticed in this connexion. Under the confederation, the executive, judicial, and legislative departments were mingled together and united in one body. There was no president to take care that the laws were faithfully executed ; no provision was made for a judiciary, and no separa-

tion of legislative power into two houses. The general government was committed to a congress which was clothed with plenary powers to make laws for states—to disobey. In the constitution these things were otherwise ordered. The new government was organized with a distribution of the legislative, executive, and judicial powers into separate departments. The experience of the world demonstrates that such a distribution is essential to good government; and, even in several nations where liberty leads a hard life, there has been a gradual approach to this division of political power. In despotisms, a single individual makes, construes, and executes the laws, or at least has the control of those who are intrusted with these duties. But under the Constitution of the United States these powers are carefully separated and distributed between the President, the Courts of justice, and Congress. This distribution constitutes a deep and radical feature of our national government, and is also found in all the state constitutions.

We have now enumerated three classes of provisions that are elemental in the constitution of our republic: namely, legislation not for states, but for individuals; power to enforce the laws of the Union; and a distribution of the legislature, judicial, and executive power into three departments. But it is apparent that the first two of these provisions are not peculiar to a republic; for a monarchy or an autocracy directs its legislation immediately to individuals, and executes its laws with rigour. These provisions are, however, noticed here mainly in contrast with the attempts made under the Confederation. We have an American system—we have the states and the nation—wheels within a wheel—and we wished briefly to exhibit the division of political power between the states and the national government,

and to suggest—merely to point at the provisions by which they move on harmoniously together. Were we to draw a contrast between our American system and other actually existing forms of government in other parts of the world, we would represent the peculiarity in our political organization to be, that the popular will is the basis of our whole political structure, both state and national. I do not mean a popular will which expresses itself in fitful actions, exhibiting one phase yesterday and another to-day. I mean a popular will exhibiting itself soberly and orderly in the Constitution and Laws. These are the expression of the popular will in its aggregate shape; and our government is merely the instrument or machinery, or body through which this will operates. No divine right to govern is recognised, or makes its appearance in the system. The people are the fountain of power, and the laws and constitution are their will in its collected form. This is the marrow of our republican system.

These are some of the prominent features of our constitution. By its adoption the thirteen states were united into a national government, and the Revolution was completed.

Were we asked what was the nature of the results obtained by the American Revolution, we might answer by directing your attention to the position which our republic occupies in the general history of the civilization of the human race. We have viewed that civilization as it exhibited itself in the Egyptian circle of nations, among the Greeks, in China, in India, in native Mexico, and, finally, among the present family of European nations. With few exceptions it preserved, in all its phases and changes among these different people, certain common features, among which may be enumerated a

union of church and state, and a political power derived from some other source than the popular will. The principal exception to this general statement is to be found in the Grecian states, which, in their early days, exhibited the forms of democracy. The statement, however, is in general correct, that in all the history of the world, landed possessions, hereditary descent, divine right, and great wealth, have been the main sources of authority in religion and politics. Power so derived has been aptly termed *legitimacy*—political legitimacy if it is exercised in the state, and ecclesiastical legitimacy if it is exercised in the church. Legitimacy is, consequently, the opposite of democracy—the latter denoting power springing from the will of the people, and the former a power having some other origin. The last development of civilization, namely, that which presented itself in the present European race, has exhibited several diversities; but, through all its phases on European ground, legitimacy has prevailed over democracy; and hereditary descent, divine right, or accumulated property, have been the sources of authority in church and state. In confirmation of this statement, and for the purpose of exhibiting the democratic results of our Revolution by close contrast with legitimacy, look a moment at the several forms which the political civilization of Europe successively assumed.

Its first form was in the feudal system: where, according to our modern ideas of nations, there were no nations or states; but where all authority was local and particular, the feudal castle being the centre of power, and the boundaries of the feudal estate its circumference. Here there was a legitimacy resting upon barbaric force and hereditary descent. Government was patriarchal rather than political; but the feudal patriarchs were ba-

rons, counts, and nobles rejoicing in other names—chiefs who were almost as intelligent as Black Hawk, and almost as civilized as Tecumseh.

The second form of European political civilization appeared under the direction of the church: when the clergy attempted to put themselves at the head of political affairs, and form all Christendom into one vast empire, of which the Roman pontiff should be the chief, “and monarch of all he surveyed.” Here there was a legitimacy resting upon the idea of a divine right. The argument by which it was maintained was short, conclusive to those who believed it, and ran as follows: All people and kingdoms belong to the Redeemer of the world, who may rule over them; the Roman pontiff is his representative on earth, and consequently the Roman pontiff may rule all people and kingdoms in behalf of his Divine Master. Such an argument was brief and cool; but the democrats of the present day think it proved too much. It was, however, the basis of the attempts of Gregory VII. and his successors, who aimed to form the world into one grand Christian empire, in which the church, by virtue of its divine commission, was to hold all authority, political and ecclesiastical.

Another form of European political civilization was in the free cities of the north, and commercial republics of the south; where the wealthy men of a town associated together, and, through the medium of municipal corporations, or in more modern language, town councils, exercised authority. Such organizations were, in the south of Europe, named republics, and in the north, free cities; but all their power originated in an aristocracy, and was exercised independently of the popular will. Here there was a legitimacy resting upon wealth and hereditary descent.

Another form of European political civilization was exhibited when royalty was established. By the close of the fifteenth and commencement of the sixteenth century, the nations of Europe had grown up and become pretty well organized ; and power was drawn away from feudal castles, from the clergy, and from the towns, and centred round the thrones of kings. Henry VIII. of England, Francis I. of France, and Charles V. in Spain and Germany, succeeded to crowns which were emblems of real power. The German electors, seven in number, it is true, elected their emperor ; but what part had the people in the matter ? Royalty appealed to heaven, and sought, in a commission from on high, authority to sway its sceptre. Here there was a legitimacy resting upon the idea of a divine right to rule. Henry VIII., Elizabeth, and the Stuart kings, are the proper English representatives of this class of sovereigns ; and their dearly beloved brother, Louis XIV., lived, warred, and died in the idea that heaven had commissioned him to govern France.

But democracy began to array itself against its natural enemy, legitimacy. The popular masses—the undercrust—the untitled—began to move. Commerce and the arts had enriched thousands ; and, from different corners of Europe, the doctrine was announced that the popular will was the fountain of political power. In England, with which we have more particularly to do, this doctrine exhibited its fruits in the commotion which overturned the power and cut off the head of the first Charles. The subsequent revolution of 1688, which dethroned James II., was another result of the same doctrine, and of essential service to the prosperity of England. But the condition of society, and the existence of aristocratic and royal institutions, preserved

legitimacy both in Britain and on the continent ; and mothers still gave birth to princes.

It was reserved for our own Revolution to give a full and perfect developement of a political system resting upon the popular will. Removed from the presence of royalty, and nobility, and ecclesiastical domination, the inhabitants of these colonies were able to establish a system of national and state government, in which democracy took the place of legitimacy, and in which the constitution and laws are the imbodiment and manifestation of the will of the people. The establishment of such a political system was the peculiar and distinguishing work of our Revolution. Neither kings, nor clergy, nor nobles, entered as distinct elements into the political system which this Revolution organized. The people, standing on the broad platform of political equality, made their will the basis of the government. Their political tabernacle was constructed upon this foundation, and made according to the pattern shown by reason and experience. The ballot-box was substituted for legitimacy ; and the throne, the House of Lords, the established church, and the orders of nobility, were replaced by a representative democracy, with its elective officers, its free religion, and its political equality.

“ What constitutes a state ?

Not high-raised battlements, or laboured mound,

Thick wall, or moated gate ;

Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crowned ;

No : men, high-minded men,

Men who their duties know

And know their rights ; and knowing dare maintain ;

These constitute a state.”

This doctrine was the illuminating centre of the political system formed by the Revolution.

In the previous lectures we have represented this Revolution, and the political organization which it established, as the end to which the leading prominent events of all American colonial history pointed. Viewed in reference to this result, those events, in their general tendency, appear like the actions of different agents, all working the well ordered plan of a superintending Mind. Corporations tried to put themselves at the head of American colonization, and failed; feudal nobles tried to do the same, and failed; kings made the same attempt, and they too failed. The success of corporations, or nobles, or kings, would have established, in the colonies, a legitimacy—an anti-democratic power—which not even a revolution could have shaken off. But these different attempts at colonization, so far from succeeding according to the design of those who engaged in them, all became agencies promotive of the one common end—namely, the establishment of a government upon the foundation of political equality. The people of the colonies had long earnestly desired this result; and when all preliminaries were adjusted, the Revolution accomplished what a century of colonial events had prepared.

The military part of the Revolution was not sufficient to make a democratic nation. The greatest danger of popular government was after the days of military success—in the dark and gloomy times of the Confederation. The bonds of union were, in fact, dissolved, and the states were each the sole guardian of popular liberty. It was feared that, like the seven Saxon kingdoms of England, or the dissociated chiefs of Europe, in the early days of feudal misrule, the thirteen states would become thirteen separate republics, whose principal occupation would consist in harassing each other. It was at this

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time that even stern upright patriots trembled for the cause of free-government. For the states were quarrelling with each other, commerce was prostrate, the paper money had ceased to circulate, the wheels of government moved heavily, mob violence appeared, and Great Britain was laughing at her spoiled, unruly children, on this side of the Atlantic. But this danger, too, passed away. The old Confederation yielded up the ghost, was carried to the cave of Machpelah, and decently interred. The Constitution, with life and vigour, came into being, and the work of the Revolution was completed. The constitution—not the mere paper agreement—but the actual political organization made according to that agreement—demonstrated the capacity of the American people for popular government. The excellence of this constitution will be the more appreciated, the more the eye rests on the dark and misty times when it came into being. Long may it be preserved. And while the flag of our republic floats in the breezes that come from the Atlantic and Pacific, may its stars and stripes long be hailed by joyous millions, whose acclamations shall re-echo from the shores of the St. Lawrence, and whose jubilations shall be borne on the mild and genial airs that breathe landward from the Gulf of Mexico.

PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

LECTURE VIII.

FEDERALISTS AND DEMOCRATS.

Political parties arise from liberty—Origin of the Federalists and Anti-federalists—Views of parties in the convention to frame the Constitution—State sovereignty and national sovereignty—The Federalists and Democrats—Their primary dividing line—They divided upon the strength or weakness of the national government—Their main ideas—Their names—Measures on which they differed: I. They differed in regard to the *public* debt—Origin of that debt—Views of parties in reference to it—Results respecting it; II. They differed in regard to a national bank—Grounds of their opposition to that measure—Reasons urged for it by the Federalists—Jefferson and Hamilton became the leaders—Their respective views and characters; III. The parties differed in regard to our relations with France and Great Britain—Claim of France upon the United States for aid in the wars of the French Revolution—Proclamation of neutrality—Effect upon the parties—Relations with Great Britain—Provisions—Right of Search—Jay's Treaty—Their effect upon the parties—French war threatened—Position of the parties—War with Great Britain—Views of the parties respecting it—These questions only incidentally connected with the parties; IV. They differed in regard to the army and navy—The Democrats oppose the organization of an army—They oppose the navy—Reasons of their opposition—These measures advocated by the Federalists; V. They differed in regard to the Alien and Sedition Laws—Object of those laws—Opposed by the Democrats—Change of parties—Review of their differences—The two classes of measures on which they differed: namely, the foreign relations and the domestic policy—The measures relating to domestic policy came into direct collision with one or other of the main ideas of the two parties—General conclusions respecting the two parties: (1) They exchanged creeds when they exchanged positions; (2) They were

pretty equally divided in regard to men and influence ; (3) They in general acted from patriotic motives ; (4) They were not responsible for the abuse of their political creeds by others ; (5) These party discussions serve certain good purposes—These parties ceased with the close of the war of 1812.

WHO has not heard of Federalists and Anti-federalists, of Democrats, of Republicans, and of the numerous other party names that figure in the history of the United States? If we fix our attention upon the country when the constitution was under discussion, we find Federalists and Anti-federalists. If we look a few years farther on in our history—to the administrations of the elder Adams, of Jefferson, and of Madison—we find Federalists and Democrats ; and if we advance a few years farther, our ears are saluted with the familiar names of Whigs and Democrats. We design to draw your attention to the middle class of this enumeration, to the Federalists and Democrats—the parties which appeared in our country from the organization of the government to the close of the War in A. D. 1815. Our object in bringing forward this subject is to give an exhibition of the practical operation of our political system. We have given a detail of the means and influences which co-operated in the organization of our government, and we have also mentioned in brief terms the peculiar characteristics of our constitution. We now wish to draw your attention to the practical operation of this constitution, and to exhibit its actual influence upon the people.

To accomplish this object we will select two or three of the most prominent developements which have been exhibited under our republican system ; and as one of these developements, which it may be both profitable and interesting to study, we will, in the present lecture,

examine that party division into Federalists and Democrats, which ran along the first twenty-five years of our national existence.

The bloodless battles of those parties have been fought, their burning zeal has ceased from its heat, their scoldings are ended, and their words and deeds have become matter of history. If an old brand is occasionally raked up from the long subsided fires of Federalism and Anti-federalism, it is looked upon as a curiosity, and, like the fossil bones of an extinct race of mastodons, its chief use is to make known that giants lived in those days. We may therefore examine into the conduct of those parties, and the grounds of their division, as we would examine any other historic facts.

But why should parties divide a republic? If freedom be a blessing for which the human race yearns—if popular government be the only government becoming the dignity of our nature, why should party spirit divide the people? In reply to such inquiries we have to say that political parties are the offspring of liberty, and that no governments, pure despotisms excepted, are free from them. They exist even in those nations where legitimacy has the ascendancy over democracy, and are found in Britain and France, at the present day, as they were found in the aristocratic republics of Holland, Switzerland, and Venice, in former days. In pure despotisms they disappear, for there they find no food to preserve themselves alive. Turkey consequently never had Federalists or Democrats, as distinct parties, nor has India or China. But wherever a single spark of freedom has manifested its presence, there political parties have been formed. The human intellect is so constituted that different minds view the same projects, and the same doctrines differently; just as every gazer upon the

sunshine and cloud sees a rainbow different from that seen by his neighbour, though the same sun and the same shower produce the gorgeous fleeting arch.

If, then, political parties arise from liberty, even where it is pressed down to the ground, and where, like the lion half buried in the earth, it paws to get free, could wise men expect that no such divisions would be found in our republic? If such expectations were ever formed they certainly were not realized; for parties here appeared.

The partyism of Europe has in general been a contest between legitimacy and democracy, or, if you please, between the supporters of divine and hereditary right on the one side, and the advocates of popular government on the other. But in the United States, the Revolution chased away the Tories—democracy triumphed—and legitimacy had here no longer a representative. The partyism of the United States, in its first manifestations, had consequently not much in common with that of Europe. It was rather of native growth, and had its origin in the peculiar circumstances of the country. Its root was in a diversity of views—in a contrariety of opinions between men who agreed in regarding the popular will as the fountain of political power, but who differed about the method of expressing or exercising that will. Some desired to exercise it principally through the state governments, and others through a national government.

I repeat that the partyism of the United States had its origin in the peculiar circumstances of the country, and I may farther add that the most prominent of these peculiar circumstances was the existence of the several states in conjunction with the national government. We may name this a peculiar circumstance of our country, be-

cause in England, France, and Spain there was nothing of the kind. Those nations had each one central sovereignty, but no provincial governments corresponding to our states.

The influence of our national and state organizations in originating the old political parties of our country has always been a matter of notoriety in the United States. So prominent indeed has been this influence that we may truly say that a strong, energetic, national government was the main, leading idea of the old federal party; while the equally leading idea of the old democratic party was, that the states were the best depositories of political power. In other words, the states and the Union were brought into contrast. One set of men were willing to strengthen the national at the expense of the state governments, and another set of men were willing to strengthen the state governments at the expense of the national. Here was abundant material for party division. Parties accordingly appeared, whose discussions were continued through the first twenty-five years of our constitutional history. The grounds of their division began to be seen even during the Revolution, but it first fully manifested itself in the convention which framed the constitution. After that form of government was adopted, and the Union established, the same subject of discussion reappeared in another form, and produced as its legitimate fruits the Federalists and the Democrats.

If we look at the convention which framed the constitution, we find a variety of projects for organizing a national government. These projects are, however, readily distributed into two classes, one of which was based on the desire of an energetic national government, cost what it might, while the other was based on the de-

sire to maintain the sovereignty and independence of the states. The constantly-recurring and all-absorbing question was: Shall the new government be national or federal? By a *national* government in this connexion was understood one emanating from the people in contradistinction to a mere league of the states; while a *federal* government was, on the other hand, a federation or league of the states as states. These antipodal systems gave rise to long and earnest discussions in the convention. The *Federalists*, or those who advocated the system of a federation or league, apprehended great danger from a strong national organization; they accordingly resolved to preserve the sovereignty of the states at all hazards; and to secure this result, they proposed to give them the execution of the laws of the Union—to allow them an equal representation in Congress, and to make them in general the controlling powers in the new organization. On the other hand, the *Nationalists*, or *Anti-Federalists*, desired not a league, but an energetic national government—one that could perpetuate itself—one that contained within its own frame the elements of efficient action. To secure such an organization, they proposed to abolish the state governments—to elect the president and senators for life—to give the president a veto upon the legislative acts of each state—and in general to clothe the new government with supreme authority over all other authorities in the country.

The views of the *Nationalists* prevailed at first; resolutions embodying their theory were adopted, and the primary elements of the Constitution as they passed in the Convention exhibited the word *national* and the idea *national* in almost every line. There was the *national* Legislature, the *national* Judiciary, the *national* Executive, and other forms of a *national* vocabulary, all ex-

hibiting the same idea. But great and serious opposition was made to this system, especially by the smaller states, and it was confidently affirmed that such a plan would never be adopted by the people. Recourse was then had to the method of compromise—the term *national* was carefully erased from every part of the Constitution—pieces of both systems were fused together—incorporated into one—and there was to a certain extent an amalgamation of the theories. As an example of the results of this amalgamating process, the states were assigned a federal or equal representation in the Senate, and a popular representation in the House—the president was to be chosen by a popular vote, but the states were to be electoral districts, &c.

In this manner the Constitution was framed and submitted to the people. Neither party was indeed very well satisfied with it, for it was too consolidating, too centralizing for the one, and too weak, too attentive to state rights for the other. The *Nationalists*, however, became its defenders. They availed themselves of the popularity of the name *Federalists*, and by one of those freaks that sometimes occur, no one knows precisely how, they succeeded in appropriating it to themselves, while they affixed upon the other party the name of Anti-federalists. The defenders of state rights federation complained of being robbed of their good name, and declared that titles were now quite the reverse of what they had been in the convention. But there was no redress. The defenders of the Constitution did not however rely merely upon names, they laboured diligently to secure its adoption. Hamilton, Madison and Jay were its devoted advocates, and from their pens proceeded most luminous examinations of its provisions. On the other side, Patrick Henry raised his voice against it; Luther Martin with all his legal abilities opposed it; and Hancock and

Samuel Adams, patriots without fear and without reproach, showed it no favour. In the eyes of its opponents it approximated too closely to the British form of government—the president was a king in disguise—and the whole system, like the image seen in vision by the ancient monarch, appeared a huge metallic thing, with a head of gold, a body of silver, and feet of iron, whose power and hugeness would frighten young liberty.

But the opposition was unavailing. The constitution, after running the gauntlet of each state, and making many hair-breadth escapes, was adopted, and the parties which originated in its discussion ceased to exist.

It was not long, however, before another division of parties began to manifest itself; and state rights in opposition to national rights again formed the basis of the division. Many of those who had opposed the adoption of the constitution, because they feared its monarchical tendencies, kept themselves on the watch to see the first exhibitions of tyranny. Others, who had earnestly advocated its adoption, united with them; and a new party appeared, whose creed may be summarily stated as follows: The constitution should be construed strictly, and the national government should exercise no authority except what is expressly given to it—all other authority belongs to the states. The men who advocated this creed became known as the Democratic party. In opposition to them were others, whose political creed was the reverse of that just stated. A party appeared, who maintained that the constitution should be so construed as to render the national government adequate to the wants of the Union. The men who advocated this creed became known as the Federal party. Those who had opposed the adoption of the constitution were in general inclined to give it that construction which left most power with the state governments, and consequently arrayed

themselves with the Democrats. On the other hand, those who had advocated the constitution before its adoption, were in general inclined to give it that construction which would strengthen the national government even at the expense of state authority. These naturally arrayed themselves with the Federalists.

To these general statements there were, however, many individual exceptions; and the Federalists and Democrats, under the constitution, are not to be identified with the parties which, at an earlier day, advocated or opposed the adoption of that instrument of government. All that we desire to assert is, that the two main ideas which divided the country into two parties before the adoption of the constitution, reappeared in a modified form under the constitution, and became the basis of the division into Federalists and Democrats. It was natural that those who had advocated the adoption of the constitution, should desire to give it such a construction, and pursue such a system of measures as would give to the national government full power to take care of the general interests of the Union. This in fact occurred, but it occurred with many exceptions. For example: Mr. Madison, who had been the Ajax and Nestor in behalf of the constitution, and whose luminous pen poured floods of light upon it, ranged himself with the Democrats, and contended earnestly for that construction and for that system of measures which would leave the greatest possible amount of power with the states. Notwithstanding such examples, the Federalists endeavoured to fix upon the other party the odium of being unfriendly to the constitution; and for this purpose applied to them the names of Anti-federalists and Democrats. The Democrats retorted by endeavouring to fix upon their opponents the odium of opposition to the state governments;

and for this purpose applied to them the names of Aristocrats, Monarchists, and similar epithets.

It is a matter of interest to trace the fortunes not only of nations, and parties, and individuals, but sometimes even of names. Thus, the name Federalist is now, in popular language, a term of reproach. What was it originally? A term of honour. In the Convention it designated an advocate of state rights—one who preferred a confederation or league of the states in opposition to one who desired a consolidated national government. In the discussions connected with the adoption of the constitution it was appropriated, out of its primary signification, by those who espouse the cause of that instrument. After the organization of the government it was claimed by all parties. “WE ARE ALL FEDERALISTS, WE ARE ALL REPUBLICANS,” said Mr. Jefferson in his inaugural address. But this name of honour has “fallen from its high estate,” while its more humble rival has been exalted. The term Democrat, which in our country is now claimed by all parties, was, on the other hand, used in the days following the Revolution, as a term of reproach. Shay’s rebellion and other incidents had brought the very name *Democrat* into disgrace, and the Federalists applied it in derision to their opponents. The circumstances of the times connected it with the idea of a levelling principle, which aimed at the destruction of all government. It received much hard usage, and had no friends, those to whom it applied disowned it—repudiated it—and preferred the name Republicans or Federal-Republicans for themselves, while they very considerably designated their opponents by the term Aristocrats. But shadows, realities, and politicians, alike vary their positions; and a similar fact occurred to the party-names which we have now mentioned—they exchanged

reputations : the one has fallen into disgrace, and the other has been exalted to honour. But though these names have been alternately in good and in bad repute, they have by common consent been applied to designate the parties which existed in our republic from the organization of the government to the close of the war of 1812.

We have stated the radical idea of these two parties. The Federalists directed their attention to the strength and energy of the Union, and the Democrats to the strength and energy of the states. Here again our general assertions are to be modified by many apparent exceptions. For many other questions came to be mixed up with these two main ideas, and formed matters of party contest. The revolution in France was the most prolific of these secondary questions ; and as that movement agitated the whole European race, it produced many subjects of earnest discussion between the parties in our own country. But instead of forming new parties on the several subjects of public interest as they arose, those subjects were referred to the parties already existing ; and what the one approved, the other condemned. Accidental circumstances also determined many in their choice of parties ; prejudices of which no account can be given, operated to make one man a Federalist, and another a Democrat. The influences of interest, of locality, of connexions, of employment, of personal preferences, all had their share in increasing the number of the one party, and in diminishing that of the other. But though many could trace their peculiar politics to no higher origin than these secondary considerations, yet, with the party leaders, and with all those who had comprehensive views of our system of government, one or the other of the main ideas just stated prevailed. In this point of view, therefore, the parties were of do-

mestic origin ; but they soon extended their disputes to our foreign policy ; and our relations with France and England became the golden themes of party discussion.

That you may have a correct view of the controversies of these two old parties, let us take a rapid survey of the measures upon which they differed. In such a survey, general and imperfect as it may be, you will not fail to perceive that they first separated upon the radical idea of a strong or weak national government ; but that after this separation, their controversies extended so as to include almost every measure of domestic and foreign policy.

I. The first system of measures upon which the parties differed, was in regard to the public debt. When the Constitution was adopted the *states* were in debt. These debts had been, for the most part, contracted during the Revolution, and in behalf of the common cause of independence. Sometimes the local legislatures had raised troops and paid them ; and many operations for the general benefit had been performed by the several states, all involving more or less expense. The debts contracted in this manner were called *state* debts, and the several states were bound for their payment.

Congress, during the Revolution, had also contracted debts upon the faith of the Union. They had borrowed money from France, from Spain, and from Holland, and there was thus a *foreign* national debt. They had also borrowed money, made purchases from our own citizens, and hired soldiers, and there was thus a *domestic* national debt. These three species of debts, namely, the state debts, the foreign national debt, and the domestic national debt, still existed at the adoption of the Constitution. They had, however, all depreciated, on account of the embarrassed and unsettled condition of the country

under the Confederation. At the second congressional session under the Constitution, in 1790, several very animated discussions arose respecting these debts. It was unanimously agreed that the *foreign* national debt should be paid by the general government without abatement. There was no desire to repudiate. But, when Congress came to discuss the subject of the *domestic* national debt, a difference of opinion appeared. The certificates of that debt had, in most cases, passed from the hands of the original holders, and had been purchased by others at a great depreciation. Some proposed to pay the holders of the certificates of this debt only the amount they had paid for them; and others proposed to pay them the full amount. On this subject a long and earnest discussion ensued, which ended in a decision to pay the full amount of the *domestic* national debt.

It was next proposed that the general government should assume the state debts. This proposition gave rise to another animated discussion, which ended in a decision to assume twenty-one millions and a half of those debts. The old continental money also received a share of attention, and it was decided to redeem that old fashioned currency at the rate of one dollar for a hundred. A funding system was adopted which provided for the payment of these debts.

I notice these matters in this particular manner, because they furnished the occasion for the division of the country into the two political parties. Those who opposed the assumption of the state debts, and the full payment of the domestic national debt, became the Democrats. Those who supported these measures became the Federalists.

The opposition of the Democrats in this matter was

grounded on the main idea, that such an amount of national debt would accumulate too much power in the general government. They argued that if a vast national debt were thus created, the creditors of the government would be interested to support it in all its measures, and that liberty would thus be endangered. The existence of the states would also be perilled. For Congress, being clothed with authority to lay taxes, would interfere with the action of the state governments, and finally break them down, and destroy the foundations of our republican system. Besides, the authority to assume the debts of the states, and to create a great national debt, was not granted by the constitution, and it was a leading doctrine of the democratic creed that the general government should exercise no authority not specifically conferred upon it.

Some of these objections are set forth with considerable point in an article published in the American Museum of 1798, which I here quote for more than one purpose. The writer, rejoicing in the name of Don Quixote, runs the following tilt.

“Mr. Hamilton is the father of the funding system. He must have foreseen that those men whose fortunes were made by the measure, would consider their very existence as interwoven with his system, and they must stand or fall together. He must have known that, by this measure, he would enlist under the banners of the administration some thousands of rich men, made rich by the government, and, for that reason, prepared to go all lengths in support of its measures. This was predicted; and the fact verifies the prediction; for a democrat, that is a republican paper speculator, is a being no where to be found. * * * Why, let me ask, are the inhabitants of the states, south of Pennsylvania, in

their principles democratic, and those to the northward aristocratic? The fact will not be questioned; and I believe but one satisfactory answer can be given, which is this—that owing to the superior industry and economy of the northern people, combined with some other causes, most of the public debt was, at the time of funding it, in their hands. This difference of opinion in the northern and southern states, is an irresistible proof of the deep policy of the measures that have produced it. That Mr. Hamilton and the rest of the aristocracy foresaw the ill consequences of their measures, cannot be doubted,” &c. &c.—*American Museum*, Vol. 13, p. 119.

When the measures relating to the public debt were before Congress, “Mr. Hamilton and the rest of the aristocracy” advocated them by arguments based upon the main idea of the federal party. Guided by the one consideration, that the general government should have power to render ample justice to all persons interested, they contended for the assumption of the state debts, and for the full payment of the domestic national debt. These debts had all been contracted in support of the Revolution; the states had borrowed money for that cause; the Continental Congress had paid officers and soldiers with certificates, which constituted part of the domestic debt; and justice and honour alike required the nation to pay the expenses of the Revolution. The Federalists also denied that a national debt would endanger the liberty of the states, or lessen their importance. These views prevailed; and the proposed measures were adopted. As a consequence, the public funds suddenly rose from fifteen cents to a dollar, and great fortunes were realized.

In the discussion of these measures, the contest was a contest upon the radical principles of our government.

While the Federalists contended for an efficient national government, the Democrats contended for that system of measures which would draw influence and power away from the national, and accumulate them in the state governments. That the creation of a great national debt would give the general government an improper preponderance, was a fact most positively asserted by the one party, and most positively denied by the other. Each party saw its own rainbow. Each had its theory of republicanism, and desired to carry that theory into practice.

II. The second measure on which the parties vitally disagreed, was the establishment of a National Bank. This subject was brought before Congress in 1791, and completed the division of the parties. The Federalists advocated it on the one general idea just stated. In their opinion, the general government was intended to be adequate to the wants of the Union. A National Bank would afford it facilities to supply these wants, and enable it more readily to transact its business, collect and disburse its revenues, pay the public creditors, and promote the general welfare. This was the view of the measure which was taken by the Federalists. On what ground was it opposed? The Democrats opposed it on the one general idea of their party. A National Bank, they said, would concentrate too much power in the general government. It would render that government too energetic for the states, and destroy the balance of our republican system. But the great force of their opposition was directed against the measure on the ground of its unconstitutionality. They had prescribed for themselves the rule, that the constitution should be strictly construed, and no more power exercised by the general government than was expressly

given or necessarily implied in the constitution. Judging the project of a National Bank by this rule, they condemned it. They alleged that no such authority was given to Congress—that such an institution was not necessary—and that all the affairs of government could be transacted without it. The Federalists asserted that the measure was constitutional—beneficial to the country, and one of the means usually employed in transacting the business of government. The views of the Federalists prevailed, and the bank was established. The constitutionality of this measure has of late years been elaborately discussed in our country; and rhetoric, argument, sarcasm, and learning, have been exhausted in its examination. We notice it here merely because it was one among the first measures of our government on which the Federalists were arrayed against the Democrats. It completed that party separation which commenced with the discussions relative to the public debt.

It was on the question of the National Bank that Hamilton appeared as the leader of the Federalists, and Jefferson of the Democrats. These two men have been generally regarded as the embodiment of the two great ideas of republican government in our own country. They had entered in early life with heart and soul into the great struggle for American Independence, and their patriotism had been well tried in that fiery ordeal. But there were certain characters and habits of mind and education which caused them to adopt very different opinions in regard to our republican system. As their views became substantially the views of the two great parties of which they were the leaders, it may be interesting to look at the influences which brought them to embrace such opposite political creeds.

Hamilton, a Scotchman by descent, a native of the

West Indies by birth, had sought a home in America, and became the friend of liberty. An intellect of the first order, he advocated the adoption of the constitution. Tried in the military fires of the Revolution, he proved himself worthy of his adopted country. Looking at human nature in camps and armies, he formed no very exalted conception of its dignity, and had indeed but little faith in mankind. A member of the Continental Congress, he was intimately acquainted with the embarrassments of the debilitated confederation. He had been conversant with the disgrace and difficulty of a weak central government, and naturally desired a constitution that would lift the nation out of its degradation. Endowed with a comprehensive mind, and capable of viewing systems in their utmost generality as well as in their practical details, he possessed a remarkable facility in originating forms of government and plans of policy. This familiarity with our national difficulties, as well as his superior intellect and whole character of mind, fitted him for action on an extended scale, and he became a leading man in the Federal party. He was in fact for a time its head. His position and influence among his political friends are pretty well hit off by the Democratic Don Quixote quoted above, who speaks divers hard things against "Mr. Hamilton and the rest of the aristocracy." He was perhaps somewhat ultra in his attachment to the national government, and regarded the encroachments of the states as the real source of danger to our republican system. He was indeed a Federalist of the Federalists; but his measures were, in the main, the measures adopted by his party. Being secretary of the treasury under Washington, he originated the plan of assuming the state debts, and of paying the domestic national debt. The plan of the National Bank was his.

The plans of laying taxes and raising revenue were his. Being thus the author of those measures on which the parties divided, he may be fairly regarded as the type or representative of the Federalists.

On the other hand, Mr. Jefferson was, by common consent, the head leader and type of the Democratic party. He was a man of an ardent temperament, and early in life had plunged into the turmoil of politics. The writer of the Declaration of Independence, his patriotism was unquestionable. An ambassador to France after the close of our Revolution, he saw the grinding tyranny of a great monarchy. He saw legitimacy in the midst of its evils, of its sufferings, and of its weakness. Devoted to the cause of democracy, he was apprehensive that it might be exposed to dangers from a strong government. Being in France at the breaking out of the great French Revolution, he became warmly enlisted in the cause of French republicanism. Little conversant with the embarrassments of the doddered confederation, he looked upon state sovereignty with more complacency than upon an energetic national government. He was indeed a devout worshipper at the shrine of liberty, but thought that her altars and her temples should be dispersed over the states, and not all built at the seat of national power. Absent from his country when the constitution was adopted, he had not participated in the discussions which preceded its adoption. A member of Washington's cabinet, he viewed with a jealous eye the earliest attempt to extend the powers of the general government. With these views, and with an intellect keen, penetrating, and comprehensive, he adopted the democratic idea of the constitution. He did not, indeed, originate that idea, but he became its imbodiment, its type, and representative. He arrayed himself in oppo-

sition to the doctrine and measures of the Federalists, and contended for that construction of the constitution which would leave the least power in the general government. He abhorred legitimacy, and feared lest it should obtrude its "miscreated front" into our republican temple. From all these causes, he became the active opponent of the National Bank, and in general of all those measures which flowed from the leading idea of the Federalists.

Such were the characters of mind, habits of political thought, energy and intellect, of the two men whom we may regard as the leaders and representatives of the two parties.

We may regard them, I say, as the representatives of the two parties. For though they were each tolerably ultra in their political creeds, the parties were of the same strong faith. The Democrats denounced the measures of the Federalists; and represented the assumption of the public debt, and the establishment of a National Bank, as stepping-stones to a throne in America. The Federalists were accused of innumerable political heresies; among which was enumerated their wish to establish a monarchy, and "make a king to judge us like all the nations." * Opinions and views equally heretical were attributed to the Democrats; and they were denounced in energetic language as the promoters of discord and disunion. But the most fruitful theme of party invective was found in another subject, to which I proceed.

III. The third system of measures upon which the parties divided, was in regard to our relations with France and Great Britain.

About two months after the inauguration of President Washington, the States-General of France assembled.

Then commenced that series of events which agitated the civilized world. The first movements of the French republicans were received with eagerness and hope in the United States. When the first French constitution was adopted, the ardent friends of free government in America regretted that the monarchical feature of a king was retained. When the king was dethroned, and the republic decreed, the effect in our own country was electric. "From Maine to Georgia" there were great rejoicings—loud jubilations that the late ally of the American colonies had shaken off monarchy and was become a great republic.

By and by came accounts of the enormities—of the awful deeds of the French enthusiasts. A little later, and Europe was heaved into a terrible commotion. Revolutionary France plunged into a furious war with all her neighbours. She then demanded that the United States should come to her aid, and help her to convert the world to republicanism. A treaty, negotiated in the struggle of our own Revolution, had united us with that nation in a mutual league. Her enemies were to be our enemies, and her friends our friends. When the French republicans became involved in the furious wars of their revolution, they availed themselves of this treaty to demand the assistance of the United States.

This demand furnished abundant matter for discussion between the parties in our own country; and the merits of the contest in Europe were warmly debated. The Democrats thought the treaty unconditionally binding. The Federalists did not so regard it. The former sympathized greatly with the French republicans; but the excesses and abuses of those republicans had diminished this sympathy among the Federalists. To adopt the democratic interpretation of the treaty, and unite our

arms to those of France, would plunge us into the great ocean of European warfare. England had formed a coalition on the continent against France; and the storm raged with a violence never before witnessed. Wise policy required the United States to keep out of the quarrel; but existing treaties seemed to demand that they should take part in it. The parties in the United States divided upon the question; the Democrats contending that our government was bound to aid the French, and the Federalists that there existed no such obligation.

It was, indeed, a great and awful crisis in our national history.

The United States had guarantied to France her possessions in the West Indies, and Mr. Jefferson, whose sympathies had been warmly enlisted in behalf of the French, earnestly desired to observe this guarantee. "Mr. Hamilton and the rest of the aristocracy" were resolved, at all hazards, to keep out of the war; and they did keep out of it. They kept out of it; for the Federalists prevailed; and the celebrated proclamation of Neutrality was issued by President Washington. This proclamation announced the determination of the United States to remain neutral—to be mere "lookers-on in Vienna," during the European uproar.

In the discussion of this measure commenced the severe accusations and recriminations of the parties against each other respecting *foreign influence*. The Democrats accused the Federalists of being under British influence, and alleged that they favoured the proclamation of Neutrality out of affection to Great Britain. The Federalists recriminated, and charged the Democrats with being under French influence. These charges were repeated and reiterated from the time of the proclamation of Neutrality, down through all the wars of

the French revolution, and only ceased with the general peace of 1815.

An unparalleled degree of bitterness was produced by these reciprocal accusations. A large body of the people had entered with the most enthusiastic devotion into the cause of French republicanism. This ardour was much cooled by the excesses of the French at home, but more particularly by the improper conduct of their agents in our own country in attempting to control the action of our government.

Notwithstanding the diminution of enthusiasm caused by these facts, there still remained much to excite the admiration of the people of the United States in behalf of French republicanism. The existence of the two parties in our own country, and the accidental circumstance of a few prominent men among the Democrats being deeply interested in the progress of French affairs, while a few of the leading Federalists were much dissatisfied with the outrages of French democracy, gave rise to great diversities of opinion among the people of the United States respecting the merits of the French Revolution. Though both parties condemned its excesses and shuddered at its outrages, the Democrats were regarded as its apologists and defenders, and the Federalists as its opponents. This division of opinion was accidental, or, in other words, it had little connexion, if any, with the main, leading ideas of the two parties in our own country. But men being in opposition upon one subject, very commonly get into opposition upon every other. This so happened with the parties in the United States. They entertained different and discordant ideas upon certain fundamental principles of our government; and, in consequence of this opposition, they took different views of almost every subject

which came to be discussed. Each watched the conduct of the other with a jealous eye, and condemned opinions because they were the opinions of a rival.

The proclamation of Neutrality, however, determined the policy of the United States in regard to the wars in Europe. That this policy was beneficial to the country is now generally admitted ; but that our government was bound in obedience to treaty stipulation to take part in aid of France, was most confidently believed, and most positively asserted by the Democratic party.

But our relations with France were intimately connected with our relations with Great Britain. Those nations having engaged in a furious war, the United States were exposed to the injuries which are usually inflicted upon weak nations by powerful belligerents. Our commerce was exposed to their rapacity, and suffered much. When the war between the trans-atlantic powers involved Europe in smoke and uproar, the general current of sympathy in the United States ran strongly in favour of France and against Great Britain. The commerce of the states had been destroyed by the Revolution ; and the want of any provision for its protection under the confederation, left it to live languishingly along till the adoption of the constitution. When the proclamation of Neutrality announced the determination of the United States to take no part with France, the American merchants desired to profit by the commotions in Europe, and make gain by trafficking with all the contending parties. This hope was, however, disappointed by Great Britain. That nation adopted certain rules for the regulation of neutral commerce, which were soon found to be exceedingly destructive of American trade. She declared provisions to be contraband of war, and prohibited neutral nations from shipping or

carrying them to countries engaged in hostilities with herself. This prohibition operated very injuriously to American commerce; for provisions constituted the greatest part of our export trade, and the rule of Great Britain would destroy this source of profit.

Great Britain also announced her determination to search our merchant-vessels, and take from them those whom her officers might choose to pronounce British subjects. The United States were much opposed also to this rule, which operated the more injuriously on account of the common language and common descent of the people of both nations.

To adjust these and other difficulties, Mr. Jay was sent to England, where he negotiated the celebrated commercial treaty known as Jay's Treaty. What were the main points to be adjusted? They were many; but the rule about provisions and the right of search were among the most prominent. What did he obtain in favour of commerce in provisions? Nothing. What did he obtain in the matter of search? Nothing. These two points were left pretty much as they had been. A commercial treaty was indeed negotiated, and several advantages secured. But the main objects of desire were not obtained. Great Britain was left at liberty to seize the flour, the rice, or the sugar which the American merchants might attempt to ship to France. She was also left at liberty to board and search the American merchant-vessels for seamen and subjects. The commercial treaty was negotiated without a consolatory word upon these matters.

This treaty, after great and serious opposition, was approved by the Senate, ratified by the president, and went into operation.

A burst of indignation accompanied its ratification;

the Federalists slowly became its defenders, while the Democrats attacked it with all the energy of indignation. The press levelled its artillery against it; popular conventions passed resolutions condemning it; and pamphlets and essays without number gave utterance to the opposition. The parties became more widely separated than ever; and the cry of "English influence," "British gold," "English party," was raised still louder, and echoed and re-echoed from every corner of the land.

In the meantime discussions, earnest, long, and eloquent, were held upon various propositions arising out of our relations with France and Britain. Resolutions were submitted in Congress for laying an embargo upon our commerce, in order to force England to relinquish her navigation acts. Other resolutions proposed to sequester the debts owed by our citizens to the citizens of Great Britain, and bring them into the public treasury to indemnify our merchants for spoliations committed upon our commerce by British ships. Another series of resolutions, offered by Mr. Madison, proposed to make such regulations as would carry our commerce and manufactures to France, and draw them away from the English markets. The resolutions of Mr. Madison embraced the substance of the commercial scheme proposed by Mr. Jefferson on the eve of his retirement from the cabinet of Washington.

On all these measures of foreign policy, the parties were rallied in opposition to each other, the Democrats advocating them in their dissatisfaction with England, and the Federalists opposing them in hopes of preserving peace with that country.

While these views of our foreign relations were agitating the parties at home, the French Revolution had run through its wildest excesses, and was subsiding into

a popularized tyranny. The French directory, through its agents, was perpetrating outrages upon other nations as well as upon the French people. The sympathy of the Democratic party in the United States with the French republicans, gave the Federalists many advantages. In like manner, the forbearance of the Federalists towards Great Britain furnished the means of retaliation to the Democrats. Every outrage of the French was a whip with which the Federalists lashed the Democrats, and every injury done to our commerce by the British furnished the Democrats with the means of chastising the Federalists.

The outrages of the French diplomatists and agents in the United States had, at several times, threatened serious consequences. The firmness and energy of our government, and the universal affection for President Washington, defeated their intrigues, and preserved our neutrality. But, in the administration of President Adams, the relations between the United States and France assumed a very serious character, and became the subject of severe recriminations between the Federalists and Democrats. The proclamation of neutrality had given umbrage to France ; and Jay's treaty was a farther cause of dissatisfaction to that nation. The French resorted to the most unjustifiable measures to draw the United States into the whirlpool of European politics. French privateers attacked our commerce, and committed great depredations upon it. When the American ministers in France remonstrated against these injuries, they were ordered to leave the country. Another mission was sent ; but the French directory demanded a sum of money from the United States as a preliminary to any negotiation. This demand was accompanied with threats of vengeance in case of refusal.

Such a demand, if acquiesced in, would in all probability have been repeated, and the United States would have become tributary to France.

When informed of these proceedings, the people of the United States were amazed. Partyism was, for a moment, absorbed in patriotism. The indignity was not to be tolerated. An American feeling rose above every other ; and from the north to the south, from the commercial city to the log cabin, from the distant west to the Atlantic border, there arose one long, loud, re-echoed, indignant cry—

“ Millions for defence, not a cent for tribute.”

Regiments were voted, an army was organized, and the venerable Father of his Country was called from the shades of Mount Vernon to take the chief command. But the storm passed by without bursting upon our young republic.

These events placed the Federalists in the ascendant. They endeavoured, and in part succeeded, in the attempt to represent the Democrats as the friends and apologists of France through all these outrages. But, when the alarm ceased, the charges of foreign influence were redoubled. Party strife ran high. While Washington sat at the helm of government, he moderated the contest. Now that he was removed, the storm burst forth with increased violence. When the apprehensions of a French war were not realized, the Democrats slowly returned to their former position. They insisted that the danger had been caused by the Federalists, either inadvertently through improper measures, or from a desire to strengthen the national government, by giving it the control of an army, and the management of a war. It was urged that the conduct of France had been misrepresented by men under British influence. To all these,

and similar reproaches, the Federalists replied with the arguments and eloquence usually employed in party discussions.

The difference of opinion about our foreign relations did not, however, terminate with the administration of President Adams, but continued during the administrations of Jefferson and Madison. The embargo, the non-intercourse, and all the policy and measures which preceded and accompanied the war of 1812, were subjected to the ordeal of party trial. The war measures of Jefferson and Madison, it is well known, were pretty uniformly opposed by the Federalists. The war of 1812 was a democratic measure. Had the Federalists remained in power, the United States would, in all probability, have been engaged in a French war, instead of an English one. Great grievances had, indeed, been suffered from both Britain and France. But the old partialities of the Democrats for France, sent the stripes and stars against the British.

When that war was declared, the old accusations of French influence and British influence were still re-echoed. The Democrats were denounced as the tools of Napoleon, and heavy censures pronounced against them. It was alleged that they were willing to ruin their country out of partiality for the French tyrant; and it was denounced as illiberal and iniquitous to engage in a war with Great Britain, when she, like a benevolent friend, was struggling for Christianity and civilization, against French atheism and rapine. It was said by the Federalists, that if Napoleon conquered England, he would make but one mouthful of the United States. These charges, as usual, were retorted; and the Federalists were stigmatized as the adherents of Great Britain—the British party, &c. It was generally believed that Bri-

tish instigation had set on the northwestern Indians in 1811; and it was notorious that she had, under various pretexts, seized upon a thousand of our commercial vessels. The Democrats were willing to admit that it was all very benevolent in Great Britain to keep Napoleon away from the United States. But they were not willing to be tomahawked and scalped that Great Britain might preserve civilization; nor did they admit that she ought to destroy our commerce, and seize our ships, in order to maintain Christianity. Their philanthropy stopped short of such concessions.*

Without pursuing these matters farther in detail, we are warranted in making the general representation, that our foreign relations furnished subjects for the severest party vituperation. The Federalists were, by their opponents, connected with the interests of Great Britain, and the Democrats with those of France. The thrilling events of the French revolution, which covered the time of our national existence from its beginning in 1789 until the year 1815, continually extended their influence to our country, and gave great acerbity to these party discussions.

We must here, however, repeat what has already been

* As an illustration of this want of benevolence on the part of the Democrats towards Great Britain, take the following extract from a congressional speech of the Hon. D. R. Williams of South Carolina, delivered in January, A. D. 1812, on the eve of the war.

“ But we must not go to war with this England; she is fighting for her existence! If her existence, sir, depends on our destruction, then, I say, down let her go. She is contending for the liberties of the world, too, it seems. I would as soon have expected to hear that the Devil had espoused the cause of Christianity! Did she raise the standard of liberty in India? Is it to extend or secure the blessings of freedom to us, that the fireside and the cradle are exposed to savage incursions in the west at this time?”

advanced, that the party warfare in regard to our foreign relations was accidental. It did not originate the parties, and was not very obviously connected with the main ideas upon which they separated. The preferences for France or Great Britain, and the measures proposed affecting them, came in by way of addition to the materials of partyism already existing. The measures growing out of our connexions with these nations, gave indeed much bitterness to party strife ; but there was nothing in the radical idea of the Federalists to connect them in sympathy with Britain, nor in the radical idea of the Democrats to give them a corresponding connexion with France.

Having presented a cursory view of the party discussions which grew out of our relations with France and Britain, let us return to those measures which had reference more exclusively to our domestic policy, and which gave farther occasion to party contest.

IV. A fourth series of measures on which the parties differed, was in regard to the army and navy.

In the administration of Washington, the hostilities of the Indians on the west required some provision to be made for an army ; and the injuries to our commerce by the Algerines in the Mediterranean, demanded the protection of a navy. The projects in reference to these two objects gave rise to much warm discussion. The main ideas of the two parties were here, however, the groundwork of the contest. The Federalists advocated such an organization of the army and navy as would enable the government most effectively to protect itself against the hostilities of the Indians and Algerines. In this they were guided by the leading idea of their party ; viz., that the government was, and should be in all respects, able to protect itself and the citizens.

The Democrats were not opposed to the efficient action of the government against these enemies ; but they found fault with the particular organization of the army which was proposed, and they also opposed the formation of a navy in every form in which the project was presented. The government, they said, would receive a dangerous increase of power from the proposed army, but a still more dangerous power from the navy. A navy and a public debt they alleged were inseparable companions ; or at least no nation maintaining a naval power had ever been known to pay off a public debt. The immense expense connected with such an establishment would perpetuate the debt already existing, and thereby increase the influence of the general government. They therefore preferred that the United States, instead of establishing a navy, should purchase peace from the corsairs in the Mediterranean, or hire the navy of another nation to protect our commerce in those seas.

They also alleged that a small navy would be exposed to seizure by Great Britain or France, and that a large one would involve an expense altogether beyond the means of our government.

These views were popular at the time ; and during the administrations of Washington and Adams no extensive or permanent provision was made for a navy. President Adams indeed was in favour of it ; but various accidental circumstances concurred with the opposition of the Democrats in preventing the construction of ships of war. A few only were, from time to time, equipped. When Mr. Jefferson came into the presidential chair, he entertained opinions adverse to the naval service ; and the Democrats having opposed the measure under former administrations, were not disposed, when they came into power, to veer round and advocate it.

Besides, they argued that to build vessels of war would be merely building ships for Great Britain. President Jefferson accordingly recommended gun-boats as substitutes for ships in coast and harbour defence. Their model and origin were found in the Mediterranean, where they had long been used. Gun-boats accordingly were built, and cradled in the harbours and along the coast of the United States. But the plan met with great and serious opposition. The Federalists derided it, and averred that the country was endangered by trusting its maritime defence to the little, low, creeping democratic tortoises.

Great earnestness was manifested through the country in the discussion of this subject; and it was not until the capture of the British frigates the *Guerriere* and *Java*, that the two parties began to concur in acknowledging the efficient service which a navy might render to our country. When that demonstration was made, the gun-boat plan, like the old confederation, was genteelly embalmed, and laid away among other mummies in the historical catacombs of the past.

The differences of opinion relative to the navy, naturally originated in the main ideas upon which the parties divided. But these discussions were afterwards extended and continued by accidental circumstances; and much of the energy which entered into them was derived from party excitement rather than from calm, deliberate judgment.

V. Another series of measures upon which the parties differed, was the Alien and Sedition Laws.

The insolence of the French at the commencement of Mr. Adams's administration, and the success of the Federalists in using that insolence to cast odium upon the Democrats, led to some important results in regard to the

parties. The Federalists being in the full tide of power and popularity, enacted the celebrated Alien and Sedition Laws. The Sedition law was designed to prohibit all persons from speaking or writing matters disrespectful to the president, and other officers of the national government. The Alien law gave authority to the president to banish from the country foreigners who conducted themselves improperly, and whose presence might be deemed dangerous to the peace and security of the nation. These laws being enacted by the Federal party, were seized upon by their opponents and used as instruments for the political ruin of the party in power. When they appeared, they were treated as ominous novelties. They came, indeed, directly in collision with the main idea on which the Democratic party rested; for they were adapted greatly to increase the power of the general government, and to give to the president the authority of a monarch and a tyrant. They were accordingly denounced in most unqualified language; and the Democratic party sounded the alarm, that the republic was degenerating into an aristocracy or despotism. Towards the close of Mr. Adams's administration, this party violence was at its height. Mr. Jefferson thus describes it in a letter to Governor Rutledge:

“You and I have formerly seen warm debates and high political passions; but gentlemen of different politics would then speak to each other. It is not so now. Men who have been intimate all their lives cross the streets to avoid meeting, and turn their heads another way, lest they should be obliged to touch their hats.”

To promote this acerbity of feeling, the Federalists adopted the black cockade as a mark of party distinction; and a man distinguished his political friends by looking for this symbol of the Federal creed. The force

necessary to execute the sedition law greatly aided in rendering these measures odious, and increased the materials of party strife. Divisions also began to appear among the Federalists, arising in part from the course pursued by the administration.* Mr. Hamilton, for example, even ventured to publish a pamphlet to prove that Mr. Adams was unfit for the presidency; and while the Democrats denounced him as the friend of monarchy and aristocracy, some of the leading Federalists were also condemning him mainly because he inclined too much to the democratic creed. They did not allege that he belonged to the democratic party; for he was the representative of the Federalists; but, to adopt the language of those times, he was not quite monarchical enough for many prominent men of his party. These discontents among the Federalists, joined to the great unpopularity of the alien and sedition laws, were the means of ousting them from power.

Thus the hour of federal triumph was the hour of federal weakness; and, at the close of Mr. Adams's administration, the political wheel made a semi-revolution. The Federalists went down, and the Democrats went up. In 1801, Mr. Jefferson obtained the presidential chair; his party came into power, and the Federalists became the opposition.

An old musician, named Steven, was accustomed to sing most vigorously, and beat time with his foot. When his body was laid to its final resting-place, his history was told in the short epitaph,

“Steven and time are now both even,
Steven beat time, now time's beat Steven.”

Similar to this contest was the struggle of the two parties. Each in turn beat the other. Each had its hours of success and its hours of prostration.

The prostration of the Federalists may be directly attributed to the alien and sedition laws ; but if we look a little more extensively at the general current of human events, we might be disposed to attribute this change in the position of the parties to influences of a more general character. Our republican system can only be properly developed by being in turn administered by men of different political views. I do not mean that men friendly to monarchy, or to aristocracy, or to other forms of legitimacy, should have the privilege of trying how they could administer our republic. But I mean that the excellence of our political system is more fully developed by the alternate ascendancy of men who entertain different views of policy and measures, but who all have a common faith in the sanctity and practicability of democratic government. If such a developement is promoted by an occasional change of parties, it is not speculating too much to say, that the alien and sedition laws, or the quarrel among the Federalists, were not the only causes of the change of the parties in 1801. The permanence of free-government was, perhaps, promoted, by having it administered in succession by individuals of different political creeds. Men advocating one theory of republicanism, had tried their system. The time had arrived when the other theory—the one so earnestly defended and enforced by the Democrats—was to be brought to the test of practice. Accordingly the parties changed positions.

Other measures beside those now enumerated afforded scope for party discussion. The purchase of Louisiana was advocated by the Democrats, and opposed by the Federalists. But the parties had then changed places in the government, and neither of them acted any longer upon those leading ideas on which the division originally

occurred. They had, in fact, exchanged ideas as well as positions.

In looking over the measures upon which the parties differed, we observe them to be divisible into two classes ; the one class relating to our domestic policy, the other to our foreign relations. In the first class of measures are contained those concerning the public debt—the establishment of a national bank—the creation of an army and navy—the alien and sedition laws, &c. In the second class of measures are contained Jay's treaty—the proclamation of neutrality—Mr. Madison's resolutions, the embargo—and the various war measures, both in the threatened French war of 1797, and in the actual British war of 1812. The measures of the first class—those relating to our domestic policy—were the actual basis of the division into parties. They each involved the question, Does this measure confer a dangerous power upon the national government? On trying each of these measures by this question, the Federalists said No, and the Democrats, Yes. This was the answer of the parties respectively, in regard to the public debt, the national bank, the navy, and the alien and sedition laws. The unconstitutionality of some of these measures was also earnestly maintained by the Democrats. But the question just stated was the general test by which they were all tried.

The measures of the second class—those involving our foreign relations—became party measures rather accidentally than by system. They were, indeed, most warmly contested ; but—like questions of legislation referred to standing committees—the questions of foreign policy gave rise to no new parties, but became matters of discussion between those already existing. The pulsations of Europe have, for the last three centuries,

communicated themselves to America. It was, therefore, a natural, because an ordinary result, that when Europe became involved in strife, such as the strife of the French revolution, the people of America should become, at least in sympathy, enlisted with one or other of the contending nations. This in fact occurred. But that the sympathies of the Democrats ran more strongly than those of the Federalists in favour of France, was, as we have repeatedly said, an accident, and not the result of their system. The preferences for France or Britain became party preferences; because a few prominent individuals in the democratic party felt a sympathy for France, and a few others in the federal party rather sympathized with Britain. Some other accidental circumstances combining with these, exalted the question of foreign preferences to a question between the two existing parties. The measures of domestic policy were, however, the groundwork of the party division. The Federalists, especially when in power, acted upon the main idea of construing the Constitution and adopting their measures so as to form and preserve a strong national government. The Democrats, especially before they came into power, acted upon the main idea of so construing the Constitution, and adopting such measures, that the greatest possible amount of power would be left with the states. Taking these to be the main ideas of the parties, a few general remarks may place their principles and proceedings in a more luminous point of view.

(1.) The first remark to be made is that the parties exchanged political creeds when they exchanged positions. The party in power generally advocated and practised the federal doctrine, and the party out of power generally advocated the democratic doctrine. It has been remarked of the Roman pontiffs, that no matter

what had been their views of ecclesiastical government before their elevation to the pontificate, they all, when elected to the chair of St. Peter, pursued substantially the same policy. The early political parties in our country exhibited a similar fact in their history. When the Democrats were out of power, previously to the election of Mr. Jefferson, they advocated that system of measures which would leave the least possible amount of power in the general government. This, as we have laboured to show, was the leading idea of their creed.

In 1801 they came into power.

What became of their creed then? They purchased Louisiana; they laid an embargo; they declared war; they established a navy; they created a national bank. Here were several of the measures which they had opposed before their accession to power. The bank, the navy, and the embargo were in substance the very measures which the leading idea of their political creed had caused them to reprobate before they came to administer the government. And how could the purchase of Louisiana be defended upon the principle of a strict construction of the constitution? Where is there in that instrument any power directly given to the general government to purchase foreign territory? The *policy* of the purchase is not now in question; but the power to make it can only be found in the constitution by giving to it that liberal construction which was once contended for by the Federalists, and condemned by the Democrats.

We are here expressing neither approbation nor disapprobation of this change in the main idea of the old democratic party. We are merely reciting the fact, that when they came into power they pursued substantially the same measures, and adopted that latitude of consti-

tutional construction which they had reprobated when out of power.

But the Democrats were not the only men who receded from their ground after they obtained the administration of the government in 1801. The Federalists made a similar change; but instead of moving onward to a more rigid and stringent theory of government, they countermarched, and occupied pretty nearly the same ground that had been formerly held by their opponents. When they were in the ascendancy, they advocated a large power in the general government, and a liberal construction of the constitution. This theory led them to adopt those measures which have been already noticed. But when the political wheel made its revolution, and left them out of place, they forthwith abandoned the main idea of their theory, and opposed measures similar in principle to those which they formerly advocated. For example, they opposed the purchase of Louisiana, and the various war measures of Jefferson and Madison. The embargo, the non-intercourse, the declaration of war, and the subordinate military movements, found no favour in their eyes. These measures, they said, accumulated too much power in the general government, and endangered our republican system. If we look from their opposition of measures to their political creed as promulgated in their conventions, and addresses, and pamphlets, and whole party life, after A. D. 1800, we find that they ceased to advocate a strong national government. The Hartford Convention talked about the constitution in the language of the Democrats of 1798, and proposed amendments to it that would have materially abridged the power of the general government.

When the war of 1812 agitated the country, the

Federalists denounced it, and laid the sin of the strife upon the Democratic administration. They endeavoured to exculpate Great Britain at the expense of our own government. We might draw a comparison between their conduct on this occasion and the conduct of the Democrats in 1798, in regard to the threatened French war. Each in its proper season found fault with the existing administration, and denounced it for attempting to increase its influence by plunging the country into a foreign war. What the Democrats would have *done* in the event of an actual French war in 1798, is merely matter of speculation. They apologized for the insolence of the French, pretty much as the Federalists apologized for the outrages of Great Britain in the war of 1812; and we know that the Federalists were politically ruined by their opposition to that war. Each party was, in turn, placed in a disadvantageous light by undertaking an indiscriminate opposition to the measures of the other. The Democrats when out of power had opposed almost all the measures of the federal administration, and in consequence were compelled to bear grievous burdens. The Federalists, after 1801, undertook a similar indiscriminate opposition to the measures of the democratic administrations, and were broken down and politically annihilated in the attempt. Had each party restrained itself so as to come in collision with the other only on measures involving their fundamental and main ideas, both would have fared better. Such, however, is the tendency of partyism. At variance upon one point, men are not predisposed to harmonize upon another; and the parties accordingly not only exchanged positions upon the election of Mr. Jefferson, but they also exchanged ideas and conduct.

In saying that they exchanged ideas, we refer of

course to their ideas upon a strong or narrowly-limited general government, which constituted their primary dividing line. We do not refer to federalism as it was represented by the Democrats, nor to democracy as it was represented by the Federalists. If the Federalists, composed of "Mr. Hamilton and the rest of the aristocracy," were averse to our republican system; if they were friends of monarchy or of legitimacy in any shape; if they were political aristocrats, who preferred a hereditary king to an elective president, and the British constitution to our popular government; if the Federalists were political renegades of this description, then the Democrats did not adopt their ideas. If the Democrats, on the other hand, were without principle, and opposed to all government; political buccaneers; mere levellers in faith and practice, then the Federalists did not adopt their ideas. But in regard to the primary dividing line of the parties—the strength or weakness of the general government—when they exchanged positions they exchanged ideas and conduct.

(2.) Another fact in the history of the parties is that, previously to the war of 1812, they were pretty equally divided in point of members, talents, leading men, and property. Pure and impure materials entered into the composition of them both. The accidental circumstances of connexions, interests, and prejudices, were so distributed that the one party was nearly or altogether upon an equality with the other. It was in the first administration of Washington that the party lines were drawn, when the country was agitated with the questions of the public debt and the national bank. The influence of Washington was exerted to cool the warmth of the contending parties rather than to sustain either in its ultraism. With the leaders, Jefferson and Hamilton, in

his first cabinet, he became well acquainted with the views and wishes of each party. He maintained the peace of the country, when the outrages of the French impelled the Federalists to a rupture. He endeavoured to pour the oil of tranquillity upon the agitated ocean, when the Democrats invoked him to resent the indignities of Britain. He signed Jay's treaty, when the consequences of its rejection would have been, in all probability, an immediate war. In his views of the constitution it would seem that he adopted, in the main, the leading idea of the Federalists, and desired a strong national government. But both parties sought to appropriate the force of his character to the support of their pretensions. On this point, Mr. Jefferson, in the evening of life, speaks out with the same warmth and decision which marked the mid-day of the strife, and says,

“The Federalists, pretending to be the exclusive friends of General Washington, have ever done what they could to sink his character, by hanging theirs on it, and by representing as the enemy of republicans, him who of all men is best entitled to the appellation of the father of that republic which they were endeavouring to subvert, and the republicans to maintain.”—*Corr.* Vol. iv. 406.

But leaving out of view General Washington, as a man too exalted to be the mere head of a party, we find among the Federalists, Hamilton, and Adams, and Ames, and Jay, and Pickering, and others, who were ornaments to their country and to mankind. Jefferson, and Madison, and Gerry, and others, appeared in the opposite rank, and by their talents and influence gave an impulse to its several parts. The leaders, on both sides, played off their artillery with all the effect which experience and earnestness could give them, and gained the

support of many whose views of national matters were limited to the township or village in which they voted.

By the Don Quixote above quoted, we are told that the Federalists prevailed in the northern states, and the Democrats had the ascendancy in the south. This is a correct statement of their geographical distribution. In the region where the Federalists prevailed, they embraced the greater part of the wealth, talent, and influence of the country. In the south and west, where the Democrats prevailed, they monopolized the wealth, the talent, and the influence.

(3.) Another fact in the history of the parties is that each was, in general, influenced by upright, patriotic motives. The peculiar circumstances of our republican system very naturally produced the Federalists and the Democrats—the former to contend for an energetic national government, and the latter for the accumulation of power in the state governments. The peculiar circumstances of the European family of nations, and the bursting forth of the French revolution, contemporary with the organization of our republic, furnished materials for discussion to the parties already formed in our country. Accusations of French influence were heaped upon the heads of the Democrats. Similar accusations of British influence were hurled against the Federalists; and a recriminating warfare was waged, in which the figures of rhetoric were exhausted, and every shade of contempt expressible by word, or deed, or feature, was expressed by each party towards the other. Each treated its rival with the disdain of the old epigrammatist who told the *screaking* fiddler,

“ Old Orpheus play'd so well he moved old Nick,
But thou mov'st nothing but thy fiddle-stick.”

The truth however is, that both parties were free from foreign influence. Neither cared for France or Great Britain farther than it was impelled by views of national policy and commercial profit. The sympathy, indeed, of all parties was enlisted with the French at the commencement of their revolution; and France, having offered the United States free entrance into her ports, presented the prospect of more commercial gain than was offered by Great Britain. But France was under American influence, rather than the Democrats under French influence. "The French," says the author of *Lacon*, "served an apprenticeship to Liberty in America, went home, and set up for themselves. But the machine they built was so ill contrived, and ran so fast, that it set itself on fire and killed all the workmen."

The Democrats had certainly no improper control from France, nor the Federalists from Great Britain; yet each party denounced the leaders of the other on the ground of foreign influence; and the periodicals of that day groan with the harsh language and heavy charges which party zeal employed. For example, Mr. Jefferson was singled out to receive the reprobations of the flaming Federalists. Every bad motive in the calendar of political immorality was imputed to him; and snakes, and creeping things, and vile animals, in the kingdom of brutes, were pressed into the service, and employed to figure forth his degradation.

On the other hand Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Adams received the severe accusations of the Democrats. Mr. Hamilton was accused of a design to establish a monarchy on the model of the British constitution. His plan for a national bank, and for the assumption of the state debts, was alleged to arise from a desire to rule in America by bribery and corruption. By the bank and

public debt he could rule Congress, and, like Walpole, govern by bargain and sale. He would thus introduce monarchy, while the people were amused and deluded with the forms of republicanism.

President Adams, also, after the enactment of the alien and sedition laws, became the target for all the shots of the Democrats. He was compared to every image of tyranny, from Nebuchadnezzar and his burning furnace to the great beast in the Revelations with the seven heads and ten horns. Aristocratical and monarchical doctrines were attributed to him ; and the actions of his public life, and the productions of his pen, were alike viewed through the smoked discolouring glass of party prejudice.

But party denunciations were not confined to these prominent men. When our difficulties with England led to the embargo, the non-intercourse, and finally to war, the Federalists kept up against the Democrats a continual fire ; and charges of tyranny, monarchy, corruption, foreign influence, and wanton ruin, were heaped upon the party in power.

But, removed in time from those spirit-stirring scenes, we can look back upon these railing accusations, and find much to admire in those most worthy men who acted in the young days of our republic. Their mutual charges of corruption, and tyranny, and monarchical views, we must attribute to the warmth of party zeal. It requires no great exercise of charity to acquit them entirely of all such accusations, and to believe them all to have been genuine friends of their country, and friends of our republican system. There is enough in the circumstances of those times to account for the conduct of both parties, without supposing either of them to have been destitute of patriotism or republican virtue. And, indeed, if we look at the conduct and whole lives

of the leading men of both parties, we are forced to the conclusion that they were men who loved democracy, and hated legitimacy in all its forms and developments. The establishment of a national government was a new and untried experiment, and patriots formed different views of its dangers, necessities, and structure. Patrick Henry raised his voice against the adoption of our national constitution ; yet who ever suspected his patriotism, or believed that he was a friend of aristocracy or monarchy? John Hancock feared that our constitution would lead to tyranny ; but was he, therefore, a corrupt man, and an enemy to republicanism? And if we come down to Jefferson, and Madison, and Hamilton, and Adams, and their associates, we find differences of opinion—and various theories of government—but democracy was the common basis on which all those men stood. They might have basked in the sunshine of the British throne ; but they preferred a republic in America to all the stars, and garters, and ribbons of England. For this republic they had contended even when the British halter was prepared for their neck ; and in the dark hours of revolutionary adversity they had fixed their eye upon the flag of their country, and were ever ready to join in the choral song,

“ For ever float that standard sheet !
Where breathes the foe but falls before us,
With Freedom’s soil beneath our feet
And Freedom’s banner streaming o’er us ? ”

Adams was an ultra republican in the days of stamp acts and tea bills ; and even in Boston—refractory, revolutionary Boston—he outstripped the spirit of opposition to British tyranny ; and old men, haters of English oppression, pointed at him as a young enthusiast of liberty, whose zeal had run away with his judgment.

To him the country owed the appointment of Washington as commander-in-chief; he moved the Declaration of Independence; and to his unchanging zeal his country is witness. Jefferson also was a prominent advocate of the Revolution; and his uniform defence of democratic institutions exhibits his unceasing hostility to monarchy and every form of legitimacy. With these two champions were associated in opposite parties many others of kindred spirits. Such men are beyond the suspicion of monarchical views, or of a project to ruin their country. Their differences were such as may exist among honest men, and their measures were in general the result of their different theories of republicanism in its connexion with the peculiar circumstances of the country. Their common honesty may be well expressed in the language of Washington, who, in writing to Jefferson respecting the differences of opinion between that gentleman and Hamilton, says:

“I will frankly and solemnly declare, that I believe the views of both to be pure and well meant, and that experience only will decide with respect to the salubrity of the measures which are the subjects of dispute.”

This opinion of the Father of his Country we would willingly extend from these prominent men, and apply it to the parties of which they were the respective chiefs. That many errors were committed, and many ill-advised measures adopted, cannot be denied. The alien and sedition laws, for example, were certainly not in harmony with the genius of our institutions. But it is judging the fathers of our republic by too severe a rule, to condemn them for every error which was committed in the commencement of an untried system of government. It is more just to the memory of those worthy men to award to them the credit of honesty and patriotism, and

to put down their errors to the account of the common imperfections of our nature. Their names are with the dead ; their reputation is in the keeping of their country. As part of that country, we repeat what we have already asserted, that the two political parties were, in the main, honest in their belief, patriotic in their intentions, and devoted to the cause of republicanism. The men of the one party did not love France, nor those of the other Britain, to the injury of their own democratic America. For their own country they cared ; her they loved, and her institutions they desired to perfect. We might present a single example of this preference of our own country, and then generalize it so as to extend its principle to the men of all parties. Let us select one such example. Take the following : When French democracy ran wild, and, among other excesses, sent the minister Genet to disturb our republic, severe accusations of subserviency to France were alleged against the Democrats. Jefferson, the head of that party, corresponded, in his official capacity as secretary of state, with the French minister ; and when the correspondence was published, what evidence of French influence was developed ? Not a particle. The correspondence on his part was all over American. Extend this example—attribute a similar nationality to the conduct of the two parties, and we have a fair representation of that *American* influence which was at work.

But there is another idea deserves to be mentioned in this connexion.

(4.) In viewing the political creeds of the parties by the light of a larger experience, we must not condemn the Federalists or Democrats because their doctrines or measures may have been perverted, or their sympathies bestowed upon men who proved unworthy of them.

The men of both parties hailed the dawn of the French Revolution; and the Democrats continued to sympathize with the French republicans after the sympathy of their opponents was withdrawn. But were the Democrats responsible for the atrocities of the French? Come to a more modern example. If the Democrats preferred the accumulation of power in the state governments, they were not responsible for nullification, which attempted to exalt the states on the ruins of the nation. They contemplated no such result. They stopped far short of such doctrine.

(5.) Let it not be supposed that such party discussions were useless, and altogether injurious. They served their purpose in the developement of our republican system, and demonstrated that democracy on an extended scale is practicable in these United States. The friends of legitimacy may say that such party re- crimination is a very great evil, and they may praise the simplicity and tranquillity of monarchies and despotisms. But the bloodless warfare of the Federalists and Democrats was a small evil when compared with the contemporary military conflicts which, originating in monarchy, cut deep into the vitals of Europe. Simplicity in government is very desirable; but the political machine may be too simple. It may consist of a single head, who is legislator, judge, and executive, and whose single will determines the measures of his government. But such simplicity, and the various grades of approximation to it, are sorer evils than that party discussion which arises where freemen ordain and administer their own government. And in regard to tranquillity, there is a tranquillity of death and legitimacy; but where is the tranquillity of life and liberty? The blood circulates in the animal, and the juices in the plant; their action ac-

companies and perpetuates life ; when they cease to move, the material organization is dissolved. There is, in like manner, an unceasing activity which accompanies and perpetuates liberty in political affairs, and of which party movements are one of the manifestations. We are, therefore, disposed to conclude, that the discussions between the Federalists and Democrats, though often violent and blameworthy, were in the main beneficial.

We do not wish to be understood as defending or encouraging the spirit of partyism. The farewell address of the Father of his Country on this point speaks a language to which every American heart must respond Amen. All that we desire to assert is, that the activity and partyism of free government is more desirable to an intelligent and virtuous people than the death-like tranquillity which rests upon the tomb of liberty.

We have now reviewed the principles and the measures of the men who put in motion the wheels of our government. Their loves and their hates were honest in their origin ; their battles were bloodless ; and they gave to the world a living, practical proof, that a republican system can be maintained, and is adapted to the nature, temper, virtue, intelligence, and progressive developement of the American people.

These parties have, however, fulfilled their mission. They have finished their pilgrimage, and have been gathered to " the house appointed for all living." When the peace of 1815 restored tranquillity to the world, the violence of partyism ceased in the United States. That peace terminated the strife between France and Great Britain, and consequently put an end to the disputes about our intercourse with those nations. This cause of party recrimination consequently ceased to act, and

the parties were left without the food upon which they had grown strong. Their position and relative strength were also much affected by the general change which had taken place in the condition of the civilized world, and also by the conduct of the Federalists and Democrats in the closing scenes of the universal hubbub of Europe. The opposition of the Federalists to the war of 1812 diminished that party, and increased the number of the Democrats. The domestic policy of the country had also, by the year 1815, become pretty well settled. The bank had become a democratic measure, the public debt no longer interested the new actors, who were creeping from the cradle to the public stage, and the Democrats now in power had ceased their opposition to a strong national government. There was consequently a dissolution of parties. The objects for which they had contended no longer existed. The domestic policy was pretty well settled, and the foreign relations were no longer exciting.

At the inauguration of President Monroe there was a general wish to administer the government by the best men that could be found, without regard to their former connexions with Federalists and Democrats. This era of "good feeling" marked an important point in our domestic history; for it was the point of time when our republican system ceased to be an experiment, and became firmly established. During the eight years of President Monroe's administration, the measures which had formerly been the subjects of party agitation were seldom drawn into discussion. At the expiration of his term of office, in 1824, the election of president turned upon considerations rather personal than political. The candidates, Clay, and Crawford, and Adams, and Jackson, each had their personal friends; and individual

preferences, combined with accidental connexions, divided the popular vote among them.

From the election of Mr. Adams to the present time, other parties have been formed, and now exist ; but of the groundwork of their division, and measures of policy, it becomes us not now to speak. Their lights and shadows will be better observed by looking back upon them from the eminence of future time. Suffice it to say that the new parties, like the old, are altogether *American* ; stand on the common platform of republicanism, and fire a common artillery upon the diminishing ranks of legitimacy.

If we take a comprehensive survey of the two old parties, the Federalists and Democrats, in their origin and history, we find that the men who composed them, originated as well as re-echoed the common cry for liberty which arose from the whole Caucasian race. From "the isles of Greece" to the pine forests of Norway, from the rivers of Russia to the muddy waters of the Mississippi, a kindred desire swelled the human breast. The white race demanded political liberty. In our own country, away from the monarchical institutions of Europe, this reasonable demand received the approbation of all men. But here, as in all the doings of man and nature, diversity still appeared. The Federalists thought their political scheme the one which in our own country could combine freedom with good government. The Democrats thought that, in this western world, men might trust themselves with a more liberal constitution of government.

When the terrible heavings and lashings of the elements of nations subsided, in A. D. 1815, all men in America felt a higher reverence for their democratic constitution, which had ridden upon the waves, and lived

through the tempest, the hail, and the lightning, which had desolated the civilized world.

May that same constitution never find worse enemies than the old Federalists and Democrats. Good old-fashioned patriots! You wore your knee-buckles and wigs; sometimes you quarrelled with each other, and sometimes you passed each other without touching those high-crowned hats. But you all loved your country; and all had hearts and souls that gladdened with joy when your eyes rested on the star-spangled banner, and your ears drank in the music of revolutionary Yankee Doodle.

LECTURE IX.

THE WAR OF 1812.

Governments have external as well as internal duties to perform—Evidences of the ability of our republic to manage its external affairs—This ability manifested in the causes, events, and circumstances of the war of 1812—I. Causes of the war: (1) Aggressions of Great Britain upon the commerce of the United States—Orders in council—Berlin and Milan decrees—Paper blockades—Injuries to American commerce—Defensive measures—Embargo—Its operation—Non-Intercourse—Continental system of Napoleon—Maritime system of England—Effect of these aggressions upon the American people; (2) Right of search, and impressment—This right not claimed against *national* armed vessels—Admission of the right to search neutral vessels for contraband goods, for enemy's property, and for men in the land and naval service—The right to search for sailors and seamen denied by the United States—Evils of the system as practised by Great Britain; (3) Instigation of the Northwest Indians against the United States—Attempts to disturb the Union—These evils result in the war of 1812—II. General course of events of the war: (1) The military part—Conducted all round the country—Results on the northwest—On the north—Along the Atlantic coast—On the southwest; (2) The naval part—Unexpected success of the navy—Moral power of this success—Preponderance of naval triumphs in favour of the United States—III. Sources of the naval triumphs of the Americans—IV. The army less successful than the navy—Causes of its frequent failures—V. Adverse circumstances in which the war was conducted—Some were accidental, others belong to the form of our government—Of the accidental embarrassments, the greatest was the condition of the navy—Of the embarrassments springing from our form of government, the greatest was the party opposition—Cause of this opposition—Addresses—Conventions—Legislative resolutions—Hartford Convention—Effects of the opposition—VI. Changes in Europe prepare the way for peace—Treaty of Ghent—Results—Our republican system can bring the force of the nation to the defence of its rights.

IN the analysis of the principles and measures of the Federalists and Democrats, we have given you a view of one practical developement of our republican system. In the exhibition of the rise and decline of those old parties, we directed your attention to the *internal* operation of our government: to many of the passions, and a few of the virtues which its management called into action.

But a government has other cares beside those which arise from within. There are *external* relations springing from commerce, and from views of profit, pleasure, science, and other motives which demand the exercise of its wisdom. The Divine Being, who “made of one blood all nations of men,” created them with such desires, and made such a dispersion of the fruits of the earth, and of the gems, and gold, and riches of nature, that distant people mingle with each other in their search for the luxuries and comforts of life. The frigid north seeks the exuberant regions of the tropics, the east visits the west, and the west the east. From this intercourse there arise foreign relations and connexions, and sympathies, and jealousies, and collisions of various kinds; nations are brought into contact with nations, and governments come to have duties to perform to each other. If a republic be the most desirable form of government, it should be able to do its share of these duties; it should be competent to do justice to other nations, and to exact justice from them in all that concerns its citizens and itself.

How has our republic succeeded in maintaining this desirable character in its intercourse with the rest of the world? Has it at all times done to others what justice required, and received from others what justice would have given? Has it been *able* to observe this golden rule of national conduct?

To answer such questions, and also to exhibit the progress of our republic, and its *ability* to maintain a proper position among other governments, we would have to examine its conduct when brought into the presence of other nations. Such an examination would require an analysis of our foreign relations at different points of our history from the peace of independence to the present negotiations concerning Oregon. But instead of such an extensive investigation, let us attempt to arrive at the same result by a shorter process. Let us take a single prominent event in our history—the war of A. D. 1812—and examine in what manner our republic acquitted itself when brought into collision with its ancient friend and foe, Great Britain. We select this episode, or, if you please, this act in the drama of our history, because it exhibits many facts of interest respecting our republican system, and was a manifestation of the strength and weakness of our government in the defence of its national rights. It revealed the force with which our republic can defend itself; it brought youth and age together; it brought the young democracy of America into contact with the oldest and most powerful government of Europe. It demonstrated one great truth—it showed that under our republican system the force of the country can be rallied in defence of the nation's rights and of the nation's honour.

It would be idle for us here to attempt a definition of a good political system. We have, in all that has hitherto been said, represented democracy—the government of the governed—as the best system—the best adapted to develop the powers and capacities of our nature, at least of Anglo-Saxon nature, both intellectually and morally, and, if you choose, politically. It is a part of man's moral discipline to take care of himself.

Popular government disciplines, developes, and brings out in bold relief many of the highest qualities of our nature. *Children* are governed ; *men* govern themselves—sometimes. But if popular government—if democracy—be a desirable political system, it ought to be efficient not only in preserving tranquillity *internally*, but in protecting itself *externally*. How has our republic succeeded in regard to external protection ? Has it been efficient there ? Has it acted, and is it capable of acting in such a manner as to cause other governments to respect its national rights ? The war of 1812 was a trial ; an exhibition of its power in regard to protection against injustice from without. How did it succeed ? Let us see.

We must remember, however, that the war of 1812 was not the first exhibition of the belligerent or *pugnacious* powers of our republic. In the administration of Washington, it had been compelled to send the several expeditions of Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne, against the Indians in the west. Those fierce aboriginal warriors, it was found, were not to be tamed by any influence possessed by our government except by the influence of soldiers. They had been marshalled, under British direction, against the United States in the war of the Revolution, and after it ceased they still continued hostilities. The power of the government was finally exerted to reduce them to submission ; a result which was accomplished with considerable difficulty. Again, in the administration of Mr. Jefferson, the Barbary Powers in the Mediterranean committed numerous depredations upon the American commerce, and for several years were in open hostilities with our country. In this contest the little navy of the United States was brought into active employment, and furnished the means of asserting the rights of our republic. This was a com-

mercial war, which was waged for the protection of our lawful trade, and waged against a people who had exacted tribute from the most powerful nations of Europe, as the price of peace. The Americans finally succeeded in forcing them to terms; and a peace was concluded which gave security to our commerce in the Mediterranean.

But it was not only against Indians and barbarians that the United States were compelled to defend their just rights. They were assailed by more powerful nations. A series of injuries were inflicted by Great Britain, which, after long forbearance, produced the war of 1812. Let us examine a little in detail its causes, its prominent events, and its results, and we will be able more properly to estimate the exhibition which it made of the ability of our republic to maintain its rights and its honour against aggressions from other nations.

I. What were the causes of the war of 1812? Here we must refer to an idea which we presented when treating of the Revolution; viz., that the causes of events affecting the welfare of nations generally operate through a long tract of time. In a monarchy, indeed, a lap-dog, or a bottle of wine, may be the occasion of war or peace; but where important results are brought about by the conduct of large masses of men, there is usually a long space of time required. Contention between nations often commences like the little cloud which is no larger than a man's hand, but which, in time, spreads over the heavens, darkens the horizon, and finally the thunder, the lightning, and the rain discharge the gathering blackness. The causes of the war of 1812 were of that class which require time. They began to act almost simultaneously with the organization of our government,

and continued for nearly a quarter of a century before they produced their legitimate fruits.

(1.) The first of these causes which we will mention is to be found in the aggressions which Great Britain made upon our commerce. The Revolution, as we have already seen, was in a great measure produced by the commercial restrictions which England attempted to impose upon the colonies. But the liberation of our country did not deliver us from the evils arising from this source. After the Revolution was completed by the organization of our government, complaints, also originating in commercial injuries, were again heard all along the sea-coast of the United States, and were continued almost without interruption during the administrations of Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and the first term of Madison. These commercial injuries were, for the most part, connected with the wars of the French revolution—wars which, for more than twenty years, desolated Europe, and in which England and France were the leading hostile powers.

The United States, from the very foundation of their government, steadily acted on the policy of remaining neutral in regard to the affairs of Europe. Their distance—their geographical position—away from the presence of the nations of the old world, rendered this neutral policy practicable, while their political youth rendered it exceedingly desirable. It was evident to the revolutionary fathers—those meek old men—that if the newly formed republic should launch upon the troubled ocean of European interests, passions, and prejudices, it would run the hazard of shipwreck. Hence they adopted the principle of “total abstinence” from all the quarrels of the European nations, and resolved to form “entangling alliances” with none of them. This was the creed

of Washington, in obedience to which he resisted all the intrigues of the French, and refused to take part with that republic in the hostilities of Europe. His "Farewell Address" teems with paternal advice upon this subject. His successors, Adams and Jefferson and Madison, all entertained the same opinion, and all coincided with him, that the true interests of our republic required us to keep aloof from the contentions of Europe. But, when France and England engaged in the mortal strife, it became apparent that the principle and practice of neutrality would subject, and did subject, the United States to many sore evils. Among the first of these evils were the British regulations which forbade the United States to carry grain or other provisions into France. In the military madness which seized upon the French people, agriculture was greatly neglected, and the United States found a profitable business in supplying them with provisions. England, however, knowing that soldiers do not fight well before breakfast, conceived that starvation would be an effectual means of cooling the heroism of a Frenchman; she therefore declared provisions contraband of war, and consequently cut off the United States from carrying this great item of American commerce to the French market. This restriction, though burdensome, could not be called new; for, in the practice of former times, provisions had been occasionally declared contraband, especially where their introduction would furnish an enemy with resources for prolonging a war. But notwithstanding this occasional prohibition, the English regulations forbidding their introduction into France produced great dissatisfaction in the United States—a feeling which was not diminished by the capture of a few American vessels for attempting, as it was alleged,

to enter French ports contrary to the rule prescribed by England.

One of the main objects of Mr. Jay's mission to England, when he negotiated his celebrated treaty, was to procure a relaxation of this rule. But he failed in the attempt; and provisions remained a forbidden article of import into France.

This was the commencement of those commercial restrictions which, during the European war, were imposed by the belligerent nations upon the neutral commerce of the United States. It laid the foundation of that deep-rooted aversion to England which was more particularly exhibited by the democratic party, and which continued to increase as other acts of irritation were added by the British government.

But the restriction upon provisions was not the only foreign regulation which injuriously affected our commerce. By the time that Napoleon became firmly seated on the French throne, the hostilities between France and England had grown to a ripeness and bitterness which diffused grievous evils over the rest of the world. In the earlier days of their struggle, their commerce, both between each other and their colonies, was carried on principally in American ships and by American merchants. The New Englander carried French merchandise from France to the rest of the world, and British merchandise from England to French ports. In brief, the United States monopolized the carrying-trade of Europe. While our seamen were reaping this golden harvest, the sky became gradually overcast. The hostile spirit of the two great belligerents began to extend itself in a new and extraordinary manner. The battle of Trafalgar, in 1806, had almost annihilated the naval power of France; and Great Britain being left the mistress of the ocean, those two nations entered upon

a singular system of warfare—a warfare which extended itself to all the traffic of the world, and involved in the general conflagration every neutral nation engaged in commerce. To humble England, Napoleon commenced his *continental* system, which had for its object the exclusion of British commerce from the continent of Europe, and by which he aimed a blow at the vital point of his adversaries' power and wealth. On the contrary, England commenced a *maritime* system, which had for its object the total destruction of all commerce with France, of every kind and description. These two systems had now in fact become the only means by which the one nation could annoy the other. For England ruled all on the ocean, and France all on the continent; on its own element each seemed unconquerable, and neither could approach the other.

The first movement in this new warfare was the announcement from Great Britain, in A. D. 1806, that she prohibited neutrals from all trade with her enemies in time of war which they had not enjoyed in time of peace. The immediate effect of this regulation was to cut off the United States from trading between one port and another of France or her allies, and also between France and her colonies—such domestic commerce not being usually allowed to a neutral in time of peace.

Soon after this, Great Britain made a still more stringent regulation, and by orders in council prohibited neutrals from entering any port from Brest to Hamburg. This cut off the United States from the northern French trade. Napoleon, who was then crushing Prussia to the dust, and had carried his arms to its capital, Berlin, retaliated these commercial measures by declaring the British islands in a state of blockade. This declaration, called the Berlin decree, prohibited all neutral ships,

under penalty of confiscation, from entering a British port without a certificate of permission from French authorities. The effect of this regulation, if Napoleon had possessed ships to enforce it, would have been to exclude the United States from English ports except by permission of France. In retaliation of the Berlin decree, Great Britain issued other orders in council, by which the whole coast of France, and all the French ports, were declared in a state of blockade. The United States, consequently, were prohibited from entering any French port without the permission of Great Britain. The same orders directed neutrals, under penalty of confiscation, to enter a British port, *pay a duty there*, and sail with British papers. This last regulation would, if carried into effect, render England the centre of all the trade of the world ; for, under it, an American ship could not go to the West Indies without crossing the Atlantic to get permission ; and when it arrived in the West Indies it would again have to go to England for permission to return to the United States. Such a detour—such a travelling round Robin Hood's barn to the tune of " God save the king," was rather an imposition on the good nature of an American citizen. But this was not all. He had to pay a heavy duty for the *privilege* of touching at the British port.

These orders in council were immediately followed by the Milan decree, on the part of Napoleon. This decree, bearing the name of the place where it was dated, prohibited all trade whatever with Great Britain ; declared that a vessel making a voyage to England should be lawful prize ; and that a merchant-ship which submitted to be searched by an English ship, or entered an English port, was denationalized, outlawed, and might be seized by French cruisers wherever found.

By these *decrees* and *orders* the commerce of the United States became the sport of these two nations. If American merchants attempted to trade to France the English cruisers caught them, and if they attempted to trade to England they were violating the decrees of Napoleon. If they obtained from France permission to trade to England, these French papers contaminated the ship and cargo, and the whole was forfeited. If they obtained from Britain permission to trade to French ports, this fact condemned them under the Berlin and Milan decrees. The United States were thus *hawked* at from England, and *buzzarded* at from France, and their commerce was cut to pieces; for it was plainly impossible to comply with such conflicting and destructive requisitions.

We had much cause to complain of France as well as of Great Britain; but the latter, having the superiority at sea, was able to do us most harm. Having prohibited us from entering a French port, the prohibition excluded us from nearly the whole continent of Europe; for almost every corner of the continent was, in those times, under the authority of the French.

In the execution of her orders in council, there was a practical and unmitigated evil which bore heavily on the United States. Great Britain began to capture American ships if they attempted to enter a French port. By-and-by she began to take them anywhere upon the ocean if they were destined to a port which she had declared in a state of blockade, even though the owners of the vessels and the government of the United States itself might be ignorant of the pretended blockade. By-and-by other orders in council made a paper blockade of the whole world. She then seized our ships wherever they were to be found—even on our own coasts—and

compelled all our commerce to be carried through her ports, and according to her directions.

What did the United States oppose to all these orders, decrees, and pretensions? Did their old jurists put on their spectacles and read to England a chapter from the law of nations? The law of nations had become a nullity in the unnatural strife. Did they attempt to prove by learned argument that a blockade must be maintained by a suitable force of ships before the blockaded port? That was old, worn-out, superannuated law, and not the law which governed England and France in their struggle to ruin each other. Failing to make an impression by reading chapters from the law of nations, or by arguing and remonstrating, our government had recourse to more effective defensive measures. In 1807 it laid an embargo—prohibited our ships from leaving our ports—called home those that were abroad, and annihilated our commerce to save it from Great Britain and France. Our ships, if they ventured out at all, crept along the coast from one port to another.

How did the embargo operate? In regard to the United States, it cut them off from the few remaining markets which had not been closed by British orders and French decrees; it bore heavily on the agricultural interests of the country by destroying the exportation of grain; it was ruinous to merchants and ship-owners; it benefited the manufacturers by excluding all foreign merchandise; but it preserved a great amount of floating property by withdrawing it from the grasp of English and French pirates. In regard to France and England, its operation was severe; but not sufficiently severe to procure a redress of the grievances. It was indeed intended as a method of retaliation as well as of self-defence; but Great Britain having the mastery of the ocean,

found a compensation for the loss of our commerce. For, from the East Indies, from Egypt, from South America, from the St. Lawrence, and from the Baltic, she obtained cotton, tobacco, and grain, though some of them were at increased prices. These resources freed her in a great measure from the pressure of the embargo. The hope of our government was that it would induce those two belligerents to cease their injuries to our commerce ; but this hope was not realized. The peculiar organization of our republic, and the temper of the people, were also unfavourable to such a result. In New England the embargo was exceedingly unpopular, and strenuously resisted by the party opposed to the administration. It certainly pressed with great severity. All parties in our country began to think open war preferable to such a restrictive system ; and in A. D. 1809, it was repealed, and a system of non-intercourse with France and Great Britain adopted. Earnest but unavailing efforts were at the same time made by our government to procure a modification of the French and English decrees and orders. Napoleon had announced that his Berlin and Milan decrees were to be repealed whenever the British orders in council were recalled ; and was desirous to repeal them especially in respect to the United States, provided England would also make a similar exception in our favour. But all the attempts of the United States in the matter failed. Under one pretext and another, Great Britain refused to repeal or modify her orders in council ; and other subjects of irritation between the two governments continued to increase.

Under these commercial annoyances, the United States moved on from 1807 to 1812, and suffered, during these five years, the injuries which naturally flowed from this oppressive system. Their ports and harbours

were watched by British ships; their commerce intercepted, and their seamen seized. The blockade of almost the whole world rendered the ships from the United States lawful prize. England, indeed, seemed to be aiming at a monopoly of the commerce of all nations. This was in fact the very point to which was directed the main power of the contest between her and France; and while the latter was systematically at work to break down the maritime superiority of England, she herself was labouring to extend it over all the world, and devising means to gather from every ocean and sea new commercial energy. Nor did there appear any prospect of bringing these oppressions to an end. Napoleon and his continental system seemed all-powerful on land, and England and her maritime system all-powerful on the ocean. Each nation was victorious on its proper element; neither could attack the other except by paper blockades, and through the mutual destruction of neutral commerce.

Through all these difficulties the United States were desirous of peace. They offered to the belligerents, that if "either would revoke its hostile decrees, and the other should refuse, we would forbid all intercourse with that other. France finally accepted the offer."* Great Britain refused till her acquiescence was unheard in the tumult of war.

During the five years of these decrees, orders, and outrages, about one thousand American vessels were seized by British cruisers, and condemned as lawful prize—condemned for violating constructive blockades and disobeying British orders. There seemed to be no virtue in permitting the war to be thus all upon one side,

* Jefferson's Correspondence.

and since England *would* be hostile to the United States, the United States finally resolved that they too would carry on war with England. Indeed, after the declaration of war in 1812, they lost annually fewer merchant-vessels than they had lost before the war commenced.

But we will not pursue this cause of the war any farther. We have noticed it somewhat in detail, because it exhibits the position which our republic held in the presence of two powerful belligerent nations; and, also, because it shows the points of exposure, in defence of which the United States may be drawn away from the position of neutrality, and become mixed up in the uproar of European strife.

(2.) The next cause of the war was closely allied to the one first mentioned, and is to be found in the practice pursued by Great Britain, of searching the ships and impressing the sailors and seamen of the United States. I say that this cause of the war is closely connected with the commercial injuries which have just been detailed; for it originated in the same contest, and was part of the same system of means by which England sought to establish her maritime system. But the right of search—what was it? When did it begin? What was the practice under it? What the ground of opposition to it? On what was it founded? How came Great Britain to demand it? How did it lead to the war? In answer to all such questions we observe, in the first place, that Great Britain did *not* claim the right of searching our *national* vessels. Ships-of-war have, in all nations and at all times, been exempt from the visitation and search of other nations. The deck of a man-of-war is to be trodden by her own crew alone, or by those who come in friendship or in victory. Great Britain, in general, respected this universal custom, and never claimed the

right of searching our national ships. Hence the enormity of the outrage, when, in A. D. 1807, the British ship-of-war, the *Leopard*, demanded permission to take from our national ship, the *Chesapeake*, three or four men, on the allegation that they were British subjects. The refusal to comply with the demand was followed by the well known attack from the *Leopard*—an outrage which inflamed the combustible matter of our republic—and increased its animosity towards Britain. When remonstrances were made to England upon the subject, that government in words expressly disavowed the act, and even with derision disclaimed all pretensions of searching our national vessels.

But we may observe, in the second place, that nations in time of war usually claim and exercise the right to search the merchant-vessels of a neutral nation for goods, which are contraband of war, and for merchandise belonging to the enemy. Suppose France and England at war (no very violent supposition), if the United States be neutral, British national ships claim the right to examine any American merchant-vessel going to France, in order to ascertain that she is not carrying munitions of war, or any other contraband articles. French national ships may take a similar liberty with a neutral merchant-vessel going to Britain. The European nations, when at war, have generally claimed and exercised this right, because it is the highest security they can have that no fraud is practised upon them by neutrals. A similar search has generally been made, in time of war, for merchandise belonging to the enemies of the government whose ships make the search. By the modern rules of warfare, an enemy's private property on land is respected, while his private property at sea is seized wherever found. Thus, when Great Britain and France were at war, mer-

chandise at sea, belonging to the subjects of either government, was understood to be legitimate prize whenever captured. If such merchandise were put on board of a neutral vessel, it might be pursued there, the neutral vessel searched, and the property taken.

The Law of nations—a phrase which is employed to designate those rules of national intercourse, which, like the rules of politeness, have grown up by custom, and which, in the absence of express regulations, have acquired authority from general consent and long practice—the law of nations has usually been understood to recognise the right of belligerents to search neutral vessels for contraband goods, and for merchandise belonging to an enemy. Neutrals have, indeed, sometimes resisted the exercise of this right. Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, in A. D. 1780, and again in A. D. 1801, combined together, and endeavoured to establish the rule, that “free ships make free goods,” by which they meant that the flag of a neutral nation should protect its ships from search, and be a sufficient guarantee that they carried neither contraband articles nor an enemy’s property. Those Baltic Powers armed to enforce this rule. England, however, regarded it as an attempt to change a long-established practice, and engraft, by force, a new principle into the law of nations. She resisted it, and the attempt failed. In European diplomacy, treaty stipulations have sometimes been adopted between particular nations, by which they agreed that, as between themselves, “free ships make free goods.” But such a rule exists only by particular agreement, not by general or national law.

The United States, in the early days of the republic, were inclined to adopt the language of the Baltic Powers, and to contend that their merchant-vessels should be

exempt from search for contraband articles and enemy's property. But by Jay's treaty in 1794, they fairly abandoned this ground. In that important international document, they yielded the principle, that "free ships make free goods," and provided a mode of redress for injuries that might be committed in making the search. After the ratification of this treaty, the people of the United States occasionally expressed a wish that the flag should protect the ship; but *practically* they acquiesced in the rule that the ships of nations at war may visit and search our merchant-vessels for contraband articles, and for the property of an enemy.

Again, the United States admitted that their merchant-vessels might be searched for men belonging to the regular land or naval force of the nation making the search.

But if the United States admitted that Great Britain might search their merchant-vessels for contraband goods, for enemy's property, and for men belonging to her own army or navy, they did not admit that a similar search should be made for British subjects. Here was the point of all the difficulty. England claimed the right to look for her subjects on our merchant-vessels, or wherever else she could find them. The old feudal doctrine of perpetual, unceasing allegiance, here again showed its head, and came into the presence of a young nation who never knew it. The United States were entirely willing that England should have her sailors and subjects, but they were not willing that she should search for them in American merchant-vessels. This privilege might, indeed, have been granted, or at least the practice might have been tolerated, had not Great Britain taken American citizens as well as British subjects. Here lay the practical part of the evil. An English ship would board an American vessel, muster the crew, and carry

away as many of them as the searching officer chose. What was the redress? A circuitous negotiation between the two governments, ending in words or paper billets. This process of searching and impressing men from American vessels began with the wars of the French Revolution in A. D. 1792, and continued through all the mortal strife of twenty years between England and France. The United States reclaimed with much energy against it; but the voice of their protests was unheard and ineffectual in the uproar and convulsions that rocked Europe on its foundations.

In A. D. 1807, the British government went a step farther, and issued its proclamations calling home all its seamen who were in foreign service, and warning all its native born subjects that naturalization by foreign nations would not protect them from the crime of treason should they be found fighting against England. It may readily be supposed that such high-sounding pretensions created much excitement in the United States, where many British born subjects had long been naturalized, and resided as citizens of the new republic. They had thought themselves Americans, but were suddenly awaked from their slumbers by the information that, according to the English creed of political perseverance, they had never fallen from the grace of being Britons.

The manner in which Great Britain acted upon these pretensions speedily created great discontent in the United States. Several thousand American seamen were impressed from our merchant-ships, sent into the English navy, and compelled to fight the French. When the war of 1812 was declared, the number of these impressed Americans who were imprisoned for refusing to fight against their country, amounted to more than two thousand. For several years American citizens could

not venture out upon the ocean without the probability of being kidnapped by British ships; and, as an example of the practical operation of the system, two nephews of General Washington, when returning from Europe, were seized for British subjects, and sent as seamen to serve on board a man-of-war. The common language and common origin of the two nations increased the probabilities of committing such injuries, even where great caution and honest judgment were exercised. But in the irritations which for years gradually increased between them, little care and less justice was exercised by British officers in removing seamen from American vessels. England seemed desirous, as already observed, to establish her maritime system—to maintain the empire of the ocean, and to monopolize the commerce of the world. To accomplish such an end, seamen were the necessary agents, and it was to increase their number that many American citizens were carried into the royal navy.

Negotiation was tried upon this subject, but it failed; remonstrances were tried, and they too failed; threats of war were tried, and resulted in nothing; and finally, war itself commenced.

(3.) Another cause of the war of 1812 is found in the aggressions made upon the United States in the west and northwest by the Indians, and which the American people believed to be encouraged and planned by British agents. England had a valuable interest in the fur-trade on the northwest of our country—an interest which could be preserved only by retarding or preventing the settlement of the territories belonging to the United States in that direction. Hence, from the commencement of the Revolution she had subsidized the Indians in that region, and employed them in such a way as to promote

and preserve this trade. When the difficulties between the two governments, which grew out of the commercial restrictions and the seizure of American seamen, had rendered a war exceedingly probable, these Indians, led on by the renowned Tecumseh, began their depredations upon the settlements of the United States. In 1810, they exhibited symptoms of decided hostility, and in 1811, the year before the declaration of war, General Harrison fought them at Tippecanoe. These hostilities were, at the time, believed to be the work of England, and the exasperation from this source made the western inhabitants of the United States loud in their demands for an open war with Great Britain.

Great indignation was also excited in the United States by the attempt through secret agents to detach New England from the Union. The embargo, as has been mentioned, pressed severely on the northern states; and many who had lost heavily by its imposition, began to compare the value of the Union with the commercial evils under which they were suffering. Agents from Canada endeavoured to foment this discontent, and promised the aid of Great Britain to make good the separation from the Union. Their intrigues were, however, not favoured by the Yankees; they came to the knowledge of the government, and increased the feelings of hostility towards Great Britain. Collisions also had occurred off the coast of the United States between American and English ships. The first of these, the affair between the *Leopard* and *Chesapeake*, which has already been adverted to, was not forgotten. In 1811 a similar rencontre occurred between the United States frigate *President* and the British sloop-of-war *Little Belt*. These immediate sources of irritation, added to the grievances already mentioned of a more extensive

and general character, disposed the United States to resort to the last argument of nations; and, in 1812, Congress passed an act declaring war. The war had in fact, for several years, existed on the part of Great Britain against the United States, and the declaration of Congress, and the proclamation of the president, were rather official announcements of an *existing* war than the commencement of a new one.

From this summary review of the causes which again brought the United States into collision with England, we perceive that, like the causes of the Revolution, they mainly centered in commercial matters. The seizure of American commerce, and the impressment of seamen, laid the foundations of the war; a war which might not have occurred had the battle of Trafalgar never been fought. That sea-fight annihilated the naval power of France, and Great Britain was left the mistress of the ocean. The continental system of Napoleon, and the maritime system of England, were then substituted for the usual naval operations; and, in the artillery of imperial decrees, orders in council, and paper blockades, by which the battle between these two systems was fought, the commerce of the United States and all their ocean rights became the sport and prey of Great Britain. But the same benign Providence which thus links together the great chain of human affairs, also prepares the means by which the apparent evils of a whole series of events are brought to result in ultimate good. The energy and recklessness with which England pursued her maritime system produced the war between her and the United States—a war which was a new trial for our republican system, and which, with many evils in its train, relieved the nation from a protracted series of commercial oppressions.

II. Let us next take a general survey of the course of events during the war, that we may see how our republic defended its rights, and what proof it gave of ability to maintain itself against the force of the Old World. I do not mean to give a detail of campaigns and naval battles, of sieges and Indian massacres; all that is now allowed us is an outline—a summary view—a mere glimpse of the prominent features and characteristics of the contest.

(1.) Look first at the military part—the army operations; what was done there? Along the whole Atlantic coast, the United States, as in the days of the Revolution, were exposed to invasions from British troops; the northern border presented facilities for incursions from Canada; the northwestern frontier lay open to attacks from the Indians—those subsidized tomahawks of Britain—while on the southwest the Mississippi opened an entrance for hostile troops, and southern savages stood ready to aid them. Thus the entire circuit of the United States, from Boston round to Boston again, exposed points of attack to a powerful, vigilant, and active enemy; and the actual military operations were as extensively diffused as the points of attack. They were in fact conducted all round the country, and sometimes in it. On the northwest the military operations were aggressive, and aggressive for a double reason. Experience had demonstrated that the best mode to wage war against Indians was to attack them, to carry the war into their own territories. It was also supposed that many advantages would be gained by invading Canada. These two views, to attack the Indians, and to enter Canada on the northwest, produced active aggressive hostilities in that region. The results of these attempts were not so favourable to the United States as had been

anticipated—no very extraordinary fact in military matters. The American forces did invade Canada. General Hull did not, however, make a very glorious commencement in that quarter; but his disasters were in a measure repaired by Harrison and his worthy associates; and a continued series of military operations were conducted in that region during the war. The battles of the Thames and others were alike creditable to our arms and advantageous to the government.

The inhabitants of all the western region of the United States had been unanimous and loud in their demands for the war; and when it was declared, Ohio and Kentucky entered upon the contest, with an energy which originated equally in native bravery, and in a remembrance of the Indian outrages which were laid to the account of Great Britain. Their power was mainly directed to the northwest. That disasters sometimes occurred in that region, is a fact to be set down neither to the account of our form of government nor to the want of valour in the men who were there engaged.

Beside the northwest, the whole Canada line was the scene of active hostilities; and invasions were made by the Americans upon the British side of the river, and by the British upon the American side. The battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, fought in Canada, resulted favourably to the American arms, and were well-fought engagements. But notwithstanding these and other advantages, the attempts of the Americans to invade Canada were, in the main, unsuccessful; while the attempts of the British in that quarter to penetrate into the American territory were still more unsuccessful.

Along the Atlantic the British forces made frequent descents, committed depredations in the Chesapeake bay and its tributaries, sacked the city of Washington,

burned towns, and fought the battle of Baltimore. The coast from the mouth of the Chesapeake to Rhode Island was declared to be in a state of blockade; and many outrages, that are not usual in war between civilized nations, were committed upon the persons and private property of American citizens.

It is curious to observe the change of opinion, or at least of conduct, which a change of position sometimes introduces among men. English writers, previously to the American war, had denounced Napoleon as the great beast, the scourge of the world, and the violater of all law human and divine. But Napoleon had been in every capital on the continent of Europe with his armies, and in none of them—Moscow with its Kremlin excepted—had he wantonly destroyed property. In Berlin, in Vienna, in Madrid, and in other cities, he committed no outrages on public or private buildings. But when the English armies invaded the coasts of the United States, they burned the towns; when they entered Washington City, they destroyed the public property. Who blew up the Kremlin? Who burnt the capitol of the United States? Who seized and executed the Duke d'Enghien? Who permitted the Indians to massacre American prisoners at Frenchtown? Is it true that Omar, the Saracen, burnt that great library in Egypt? Is it true that Chihoangti committed to the flames the books of China, with their crooked letters and perpendicular lines? Who burnt the library of Congress at Washington City?

But let us leave the catechism and go on with the war. Along the Atlantic coast the military operations on the part of the Americans were, for the most part, defensive, and were at first conducted with less vigour than on the north and the south. The fires of the capitol

finally sent their heat through the adjacent states; and Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania hastened to the rescue. But on the south and southwest the war was waged with an ardour that was alike creditable and productive of success. The Indians in that region had been instigated by British emissaries to take up arms; and the Creeks and Seminoles commenced hostilities. These were at that time powerful tribes. They were, however, promptly met; and the fields of Talladega, Tohopeka, and Emuckfaw proved their valour, but destroyed their warriors. In the same region the British made their last and most vigorous efforts to invade the territory of the United States. The Mississippi offered them an avenue deep into the heart of the western country. But their defeat at Orleans proved that an invading army, though favoured by navigable rivers, and opposed only by a citizen soldiery, must ever encounter a most determined resistance in the United States. Upon the first alarm of a British force at the mouth of the Mississippi, the whole southwest prepared to oppose them. Tennessee alone sent one-third of her whole enrolled militia. Fortunately, the victory of Orleans relieved the south; and the treaty of peace put an end to hostilities.

Thus the military operations of the war were conducted round the entire circuit of the country. The northwest, the Canada line, the Atlantic coast, the south, and the southwest, all heard the cannonade. During the Revolution, the colonies had a border warfare with the Indians, who made aggressions from the north and west. Hostilities also were conducted through the whole country from Massachusetts to Georgia; and military operations were diffused in little fragmentary parcels. A similar diffusion took place in the war of 1812:

places widely separated in geographical position were attacked, and no very powerful concentration of troops was effected at any one point.

The north, the east, and the south, each had its battles; and the forces of the United States were scattered round the whole country. This diffusive warfare was a circumstance in favour of our country. In the Revolution it was required by the scattered condition of the population; and in the war of 1812 it was again adopted by the British, though without the reasons which rendered it necessary in 1776. The geographical position of our republic exposes it to this desultory warfare; and should it ever again come in collision with Great Britain, that nation with its immense naval power may again undertake military operations on the north, on the east, and on the south of the United States, unless by some freak of fortune the scene of hostilities should be on the other side of the Atlantic. The actual *western* border of our country will, however, soon extend to the Pacific. It is there now in name, and in a few years it will be there in reality. The limits—the exposed *attackable* limits of the United States—will thus be vastly extended beyond what they were in previous wars. But the olives of peace will, it is hoped, for long ages to come, expand their green leaves round this extensive circuit.

(2.) Look next at the naval operations of the war; what was done on the ocean and on the lakes? Here a series of successful events occurred which surprised alike Great Britain and the United States. On the northern lakes an American naval force was brought to co-operate with the army, and rendered much efficient and brilliant service to the country. On Lake Erie, on Lake Ontario, and on Lake Champlain, the naval operations were highly successful. The possession of Canada gave

the British facilities for obtaining the command of the lakes, where their superiority would have been a great annoyance to the United States. But great diligence was employed by our government to construct vessels of war upon those waters, and the results justified the exertions. On Lake Erie a little fleet was equipped; and soon the despatch arrived at the capitol, "We have met the enemy and they are ours." On Lake Champlain a naval battle, involving most important consequences to our republic, resulted in another victory. We say that this battle involved important consequences; for it defeated the plan which the British had formed for dismembering the Union. It was known that in New England much opposition to the war existed, and the British hoped that this state of feeling could be turned to good account. They accordingly planned a campaign whose main object was to proceed by way of Lake Champlain to the Hudson, and then down that river to New York; the design being to cut off the New England states from communication with the rest of the Union, and induce them to make a separate peace. This was substantially the plan adopted in the Revolution, when Burgoyne was sent down Lake Champlain with instructions to proceed to New York; but Saratoga proved as fatal to the scheme in 1777 as Plattsburg did in 1814. In this last attempt our little fleet of eighty-six guns destroyed and captured the English squadron of ninety-five guns; the British land forces in consequence ran away; and the plan of dividing the Union, and making a separate peace with New England, was abandoned. Perhaps no plan was better devised, either in the Revolution or in the late war, than this of intersecting the country from Canada by way of the valley of the Hudson. Its success would, in either war, have greatly embarrassed the Americans.

But it was on the Atlantic that the single ships of the United States performed the most illustrious deeds. The existence of the war had hardly been announced when the American frigate *Essex* was attacked by the British sloop-of-war the *Alert*. In a few minutes the latter vessel was captured; and hers was the first British flag that was sent to Washington City to tell of that ocean career on which the American navy was entering. In the same summer (A. D. 1812) occurred the naval actions in which the *Constitution* captured the British ships the *Guerriere* and *Java*; and the *Macedonian* was taken by the ship *United States*. These successful achievements seemed to open a new field for American ambition, and produced an extraordinary sensation both in our own country and in Europe. In the United States they were received with exultation, and in Britain with amazement, while on the continent they opened new prospects to the fighting nations. They had a *moral* effect, which gave them an importance far transcending their value as mere belligerent operations. Their moral effect resulted from the circumstances of the nations then at war. Great Britain had for years ruled the ocean; the battle of *Trafalgar* had annihilated the last remnant of naval opposition from France and Spain; Napoleon with all his resources made little progress in organizing a navy; Holland had vanished from the catalogue of nations; Denmark and the Baltic Powers were neutralized or associated with Great Britain; English ships swept the ocean; and it seemed as natural for Britain to conquer at sea, as for Napoleon to be triumphant on land. In this state of the maritime world, the success of the American navy was hailed by the enemies of Great Britain as a new era in modern warfare. They saw a young power springing from the Western Continent, and trium-

ming its wings for a flight upon the ocean—a power which would speedily divide the sovereignty of the seas with their former mistress—a power which threatened to destroy the maritime system in which England had been engaged. These circumstances and prospects gave to the naval success of the Americans a value and an importance which Great Britain was anxious to destroy.

At the commencement of the war the navy was unpopular—very unpopular. Many hard names had been applied to it. But the brilliant triumphs which it gained speedily brought it into good repute; and during the two years and a half of the war, it continued to maintain its good name. Some disasters, indeed, occurred; as the loss of the *Chesapeake* and *Essex*; but from the commencement of the war to its close, the navy showed itself truly the right arm of our national defence. Its success compensated the United States for sore disasters elsewhere. If General Hull surrendered an American army on the northwest, Commodore Hull captured the *Guerriere*, and repaired on water the evil which his namesake had done on land. If the troops of the United States were defeated at the scrambling battle of Frenchtown, the American *Hornet* stung the British birds the *Peacock* and the *Epervier*,* and adorned our arms with new feathers. If Baltimore and Orleans were saved by the valour and good conduct of our land forces, our flag gained unexpected triumphs on the ocean. Nor was it only in a few isolated combats that these triumphs were obtained. There is such a fact as a general current of success—a movement of affairs which, in their general tenor and bearing, have a preponderance in a particular direction. Thus, the general current of events in the naval contests between France and England has ex-

* A hawk.

hibited a pretty uniform preponderance in favour of the latter. So also in the presidential elections in the United States; there is occasionally a general movement, or tendency, or current—call it by what name you will—which seems sometimes to pervade the whole country, and draws “most souls” a particular way. A similar fact was observable in the naval operations of the United States during this war; there was a general current of success which pervaded them. On Lake Erie, on Lake Champlain, and along the water boundary on the north, the American navy was victorious. On the Atlantic *also*, both along the coast and far out upon the ocean, it was in general successful. A statement of “facts and figures” will best show the relative number of the naval victories of the two nations. Let us write down the names of the American vessels, and the names of the British vessels they captured in battle, setting the one over against the other, and the account will stand as follows:

AMERICAN VESSELS.

BRITISH VESSELS.

The Essex	captured the		Alert.
“ Constitution	“	“	Guerriere.
“ Wasp	“	“	Frolic.
“ United States	“	“	Macedonian.
“ Constitution	“	“	Java.
“ Hornet	“	“	Peacock.
“ Enterprise	“	“	Boxer.
“ Peacock	“	“	Epervier.
“ Wasp	“	“	Reindeer.
“ Wasp	“	“	Avon.
“ Constitution	“	“	{ Cyane and Levant.
“ Hornet	“	“	Penguin.
“ U. S. Squadron, on Lake Erie, }	“	“	British Squadron.
“ U. S. Squadron, on Lake Champlain, }	“	“	British Squadron.

If we write down the victories of the British vessels, and the American vessels they captured in battle, the account will stand as follows :

BRITISH VESSELS.

AMERICAN VESSELS.

The Shannon		captured the		Chesapeake.
" Phœbe and	}		" "	
Cherub				

Here ends the catalogue of the naval defeats of the Americans. The other losses they experienced were in the capture of the *Argus*, the *Wasp*, the *President*, and the *Nautilus*, which were at different times surrendered to a British squadron, or to a greatly superior force ; their loss being neither regarded as victories by the British nor defeats by the Americans.

The conflicts which gave these results were very widely diffused. Except on the lakes, the Americans only engaged in single vessels, and did not accumulate any great maritime force on any one point. There was no battle of *Trafalgar* or *Aboukir* at sea, nor was there any *Waterloo*, or *Borodino*, or *Austerlitz* on land ; but there was a wide dispersion of force over lake, and sea, and land ; and, by using a little military imagination, we might say that the battle was all round the country, and all over the water.

Such was the mode of conducting the war, and the general course of events which characterized it. It was, in its origin, mainly a commercial war. There was, therefore, an appositeness—a fitness in conducting it vigorously on the water. Accordingly, the naval operations soon excited a most intense interest, and were attended with the most brilliant success. What facts or circumstances brought about this success of the navy ? and to what circumstances are we to attribute the fre-

quent disasters which occurred to the American forces on land?

III. The triumphs on the lakes and ocean may be attributed to the skill of the American naval officers, and to the experience and heroism of the seamen. The United States had been engaged in a maritime war with Tripoli, during which their little navy became acquainted with actual service. The superior officers and others who had been employed in these hazardous enterprises continued in the navy, and formed its most efficient material. They had been schooled among the rocks and gun-boats of the Barbary coast, and now applied the useful knowledge there acquired to maintain the cause of their country against the greatest maritime power in the world. The superior skill of the Americans in gunnery was manifested by the great disparity of lives lost in these naval actions, and also by the difference of damage done to the vessels of the respective nations; the loss of life on board the American vessels being very much less than that on board the British, and the ships of the enemy being much more cut up than those of the Americans.

The extensive commerce of the United States, especially the carrying-trade between the belligerent nations previously to 1807, had also trained and disciplined many seamen in all the tactics of the ocean, and prepared them for efficient service. Hence, when an American ship was brought into battle, she was usually well handled. If she was attacked by a superior force, her crew understood all the stratagems by which to escape from their too powerful foes; an example of which may be cited in the case of the gallant ship the *Constitution*, which succeeded in making her escape from a British squadron after a chase of two days and a half—a race which ex-

hibited more skill and seamanship than any other affair during the war. The crews of the American vessels also went into the contest with a vivid recollection of the many injuries which the commerce of their country had suffered, and also with the ardent feelings excited by the remembrance of old comrades, and sometimes of relatives, who had been seized and carried away as British subjects. They were, too, of the same blood—of the same Anglo-Saxon and Celtic stock as the heroes of the British navy who had fought at Aboukir and Trafalgar, and all over the oceans and seas; and whose gallant bearing and inborn courage had rendered truthful the poetic declaration, that

“Britannia needs no bulwarks,
No towers along the steep;
Her march is on the mountain wave,
Her home is on the deep.”

The American seamen being by birth and blood of the same family with the gallant tars who had gained this maritime superiority for Britain, entered the contest with equal bravery, more skill, and many personal grievances. Hence it resulted that, in the naval battles where the forces were nearly equal, there was much severe fighting; ships were lost and won on both sides, and great gallantry exhibited; but there was a general course of success in favour of the Americans.

IV. The army of the United States was not so successful as the navy; a result which is mainly to be attributed to the want of preparation before the war was commenced, and to the aggressive character of the military operations on the north. The time for declaring hostilities by the United States was of their own choosing, but they inconsiderately began the war while their army and navy were both in a condition unfit for very

efficient service. For example, on Lake Erie there was, at the declaration of war, one small vessel in dock and unfinished; and to complete its misfortunes, the little thing was included in Hull's surrender, and went over to the British. The land forces of the regular army were on a similar scale; for when all told, they amounted to six or seven thousand, and these were dispersed over a great extent of country. A few requisitions for militia had been made upon the states, and these forces were on the north-western frontier, where they were left without proper instructions—the British in that quarter having received the first information of the declaration of war. This want of preparation and management paralyzed the efforts of the United States at the beginning of the war, and gave the British forces time to concentrate on the points where danger was threatened.

The American arms on the north were also unsuccessful in their attempts to invade Canada. Several of these attempts were made both in Upper and Lower Canada; and though some advantages were gained, and several battles fought, the invasions were, in the main, unsuccessful. Military men have given the opinion that, in the actual state of matters, prudence required the American troops to act on the defensive, and not to assume the aggressive. Certain it is, that the defensive conduct of the American militia at other points, as at Orleans and Baltimore, was attended by much happier results. The forces who acted on the north were as brave as any in the world; but the invasion of a country where all is hostile requires more skill, and discipline, and perseverance, and manœuvring, than is ordinarily possessed by any militia. Hence, all the attempts to gain possession of Canada by the American militia were unsuccessful, though they were made at different points

along a frontier of eight or nine hundred miles in extent. On the south and east of the country, where a merely defensive warfare was maintained, the results were more advantageous to the United States. At Orleans more especially, the success of the militia in the protection of the city exhibited the manner in which that force can be rendered most efficient ; and a similar lesson was given by the energy with which the defences of Baltimore were conducted.

V. Were we to inquire concerning the difficult or adverse circumstances in which this war was waged by the United States, we would find some of them to belong to the peculiar situation of the country at that time, and others of them to be incident to our form of government. Though the United States selected their own time for commencing hostilities, neither their army nor their navy was a proper representative of the force of the country. The attention of the government had been called by Washington to the navy ; but, as was observed in a previous lecture, this department of the national power became a subject of party discussion between the Federalists and Democrats, and no provisions of an extensive or permanent nature were made for its support. During the administration of the elder Adams, some prominence was given to it ; but the great expense which was required to equip a vessel for sea, restrained the general government in its maritime preparations. There were, indeed, wars and rumours of wars, and much hard fighting in Europe during his administration ; but the United States, though somewhat moved, were away from the whirlpool which was agitating the innumerable interests and passions of the Old World.

When Mr. Jefferson succeeded to the presidential chair, he brought with him opinions rather hostile than

favourable to the naval service. The vast maritime force of Great Britain impressed him with the belief that the fleets equipped by the United States would speedily be captured by England, and would merely be vessels built for her service. Besides, the enormous expense of a navy rendered it unpopular. Economy was considered an essential element of democratic government; and in order to be economical, the general government sought other means of protection than those to be found on the deck of a man-of-war. Mr. Jefferson accordingly contracted the circle of maritime operations to mere coast and harbour defences—a service in which it was supposed gun-boats might well take the place of ships, as they would be equally efficient and less expensive. This method of defence was accordingly received into favour to the neglect of the navy.

From these views it resulted that the naval power of the United States at the commencement of the war amounted to nothing on the lakes, and counted on the Atlantic only four frigates and eight sloops. This was the force which the republic possessed for defending seven thousand merchant-vessels at sea, and for conducting a war which was commercial in its origin, and was maintained by Great Britain with her thousand ships.

This economy of the general government was certainly misplaced, for it confined the energies of the nation to a mere coast defence, when by maintaining a greater force afloat in the shape of a navy, the insults to our flag and the injuries to our commerce by the raging belligerents of Europe might have been prevented. The commerce of the world was open to the United States at the commencement of the wars of the French Revolution in 1792; and had our republic possessed a navy adequate to the protection of her maritime rights during

the twenty years that followed, the continued series of insults from England and France would not very probably have been offered. It requires, indeed, not much sagacity to connect the war of 1812, and all its preceding and accompanying injuries, with the unwillingness of our government to maintain a naval power sufficient to protect our commerce. We do not say that the United States had the means to keep afloat a navy equal to that of Great Britain. They unquestionably had not. But even the resources which they could have employed were not applied to this purpose, because it seemed altogether impossible to contend with England for equal rights upon the ocean.

The collisions in 1798, in the West Indies, between the little American squadron, under Commodore Truxtun, and the French ships-of-war, were highly creditable to the former; but our people were still not aware that the ocean was the element on which the honour and power of our republic were to be maintained. This idea did not take full possession of the American mind until actual hostilities with Great Britain demonstrated what our navy could accomplish. When the capture of the British frigates the *Guerriere*, the *Java*, the *Macedonian*, &c., proved that the United States *could* maintain their rights on the ocean, the navy came into favour, and will henceforth be relied upon as the powerful means of protection and defence.

The active commercial enterprise in which the people of the United States had engaged, was of great and essential service, and contributed much to this naval success. American seamen had been schooled on the waves of the Atlantic and Pacific, and in every sea where wind and sails and private gain could carry them. Hence, when the war commenced, national vessels and pri-

vateers were in the hands of men who were well acquainted with all that related to a seafaring life. The maritime strength of the republic lay not in national ships, but in the numerous body of seamen who were dispersed through the seven thousand private merchant-vessels of the nation. Here was the real power of the government upon the ocean in those days, and here is its real maritime strength at the present time. More extensive success might have been obtained in the last war if this ocean militia had been directed to more active operations—directed at an earlier day—and directed by the government so as to bring all its concentrated and converging energies to the service of the nation. We have stated that four frigates and eight sloops were all that our republic had in service when the war commenced, while Great Britain had one thousand national armed vessels. It must be admitted that such a limited preparation on the ocean was a circumstance very disadvantageous to the United States; but it was an accidental circumstance—a condition of things arising from the views of statesmen at that day, and in no way connected with the essential nature or organization of our government. A monarch on an American throne, if such a being is within the range of imagination, might have committed a similar mistake—might have supposed that gun-boats were, in all the circumstances, the best practicable means of operation upon water. The enterprise of the country, which had raised up seafaring men, supplied the place of more ample preparation, and brought forward gallant heroes to protect and defend the ocean rights of the republic. American privateers abounded in almost every sea and ocean of the world; and their sails were unfurled, and their cannon heard in the Pacific, in the Indian Ocean, all over the Atlantic,

in the West Indies, and in the channels off the coasts of Great Britain. Immense injuries were inflicted upon the commerce of England, and, during the two years and a half of the continuance of the war, the number of prizes made by the Americans, according to the record in Niles's Register, amounted to fourteen hundred and eight vessels, a large number of which contained cargoes of great value. Many others doubtless were taken whose names did not find their way to that record; and the merchants of the sea-port towns made a profitable business out of the depredations they committed upon the enemy's commerce. So active were the privateers of the United States in this business, that towards the latter part of the war, insurance on British vessels against capture, from Liverpool to Halifax, amounted to thirty-five per cent. The British were not remiss in making similar attacks upon the American commerce; but their captures of vessels from the United States during the war, did not much exceed the number of their illegal seizures during the one-sided peace which preceded open hostilities. One melancholy fact was demonstrated by these captures; and that was, that the two nations had the means of inflicting immense injuries upon each other. Perhaps no two people ever possessed the power of doing more harm to one another than the United States and Great Britain—a fact which was partly verified in the war of 1812, and is unquestionably true at the present time. How diligently should peace be cultivated between two such nations!

By the activity of the American privateers, the maritime force of the country was brought into the conflict rather spontaneously than officially—rather privately than publicly. Such a free-will offering was, however, in accordance with the character of the people—it harmonized

with the conduct of a preceding generation in the trials of the Revolution ; and proved that the strength of our republic lies in the patriotism of its citizens—in private enterprise rather than in public coercion.

But if the want of maritime preparation on the part of the government was an accident—a condition of affairs not necessarily connected with the genius of our institutions—there were other matters of an adverse character which originated in a more vital part of our political system. Of these I will merely mention the division of the people into parties—a division which, at some stages of the war, threatened the government with serious embarrassment. The war, as we have already stated, was a measure of the democratic party—it was advocated by them—and, at its commencement, pretty generally opposed by the Federalists. Removed as we are in time from the prejudices and interests, and personal preferences and dislikes which, in those days, agitated the actors in our country, we are at liberty to speak of the motives—the views and influences—which caused some of them to advocate the war, and others to condemn it. In a previous lecture, we traced the main dividing line of the old parties in our country. Their bloodless warfare, which was of the most active and vigilant character, impressed its mark upon the first twenty-five years of our constitutional history. When the injuries inflicted by Britain and France were pressing severely on the commerce of the United States, the measures proposed for its protection—embargo—non-importation—non-intercourse—war and all—became matters of party discussion. Different views were entertained of every measure adopted ; and when the conflict began, the Federalists were, from one circumstance and another, generally arrayed in opposition to it—made speeches,

held conventions, and put forth addresses condemning it. Their opposition to it was greatly promoted by party feeling, apart from its merits or demerits. For twenty years and more, they had been discussing the relative merits of the wars between France and England; and while they accused the Democrats of subserviency to the former, they themselves were accused of favouring too much the cause of Great Britain. Without admitting that either party was disposed voluntarily to give to these nations a preference injurious to their own country, the conclusion is legitimate, that these discussions and accusations—the effervescence of partyism—brought the Federalists gradually into the attitude of apologists for Great Britain. They became her apologists even after the war was actually commenced. Their feelings being also strongly repugnant to the French, they were disposed to endure much, and to excuse much from England, because she was engaged in a war of life and death with Napoleon. This preference of the English to the French—a preference originating apparently in accident rather than in system—when combined with party prejudices, led many in the United States to speak of the war as unjust, ill advised, and most ruinous to the country. In brief, the Federalists opposed the war at its beginning, and all the time of its continuance. As a party they were ruined—politically annihilated by their opposition.

Permit us to mention a few details illustrative of the course of their opposition.

First came the protest or address of the minority in Congress. Hardly was the declaration of war announced, when an address signed by thirty-five members of the House of Representatives was circulated over the country, the object of which was to prove that there ex-

isted no reasonable grounds of war between the United States and Great Britain. It enumerated the relations of our republic to France and England, and represented the war as a measure undertaken to aid the former. The address concludes in these words:

“At a crisis of the world such as the present, and under impressions such as these, we could not consider the war into which the United States have in secret been precipitated, as necessary, or required by any moral duty or any political expediency.”

This address became the model for others of a similar character, which were put forth by conventions, and sometimes even by state legislatures.

Next came the official papers, gubernatorial messages, reports of committees, &c., which, in some of the states where the Federalists prevailed, kept up an incessant examination of the causes of the war. The men whose minds these documents expressed, were continually finding fault with the administration. They argued instead of fighting; and the Democrats condemned both their logic and their patriotism.

After all this artillery was fired off, the Hartford Convention made its appearance, and was among the last of the public party efforts against the war. That renowned assembly, composed of delegates from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, has been the most severely condemned of all the party movements of our country. What was its origin and object? The President of the United States, through his proper officers, had made a requisition upon Massachusetts for a portion of her militia. The authorities of that state practically resolved to obey the constitution of the United States as they understood it; and being Federalists, they did not understand it to authorize the President, of his own

accord, to call the militia of a state into the field, and place them under the command of officers of his own appointment. The Governor of Massachusetts then wrote to the Secretary of war in substance as follows :

SIR:—We will not subject our militia to the control of the President. We want them for our own defence, and will employ them to fight as we see proper. Will the general government pay their expenses?

Your most obedient servant, &c.

To this the Secretary of war replied in substance :

SIR:—If you *will* fight only in your own way, fight on. The general government will *not* pay your expenses.

Your most obedient servant, &c.

The Federalists declared the answer of the secretary to be very “alarming;” and the Hartford Convention was immediately called to deliberate upon the concerns of New England in particular, and upon the welfare of the United States in general. The Convention condemned the conduct of the general government—accused it of violating the constitution—discussed the right of the president to call out and control the militia of a state—proposed divers amendments to the constitution, of a very democratic character—and talked quite eloquently in the language of Nullification. These proceedings were denounced at the time by the people of other sections of the country, in the most pointed and energetic terms. Even on the very soil where they originated, they were too ultra; and the eloquent protests of the minorities in the two houses of the legislature of Massachusetts, energetically condemned the whole business.*

* The protest of the minority of the Senate held the following language :

This course of opposition on the part of the Federalists was an adverse circumstance; but it was a circumstance which had its origin deep in our political system. It was adverse, because it sometimes caused serious embarrassment to the general government. It thwarted the measures of the administration, and diminished the means of carrying on the war after it was commenced. It was also an adverse circumstance because it encouraged the enemy to undertake military operations in hopes of profiting by this dissatisfaction. For example, the expedition of the British to Lake Champlain, with the design of proceeding to the Hudson and New York, was commenced in the expectation on their part, that if such a military intersection of the country could be effected, the New England states, where the Federalists prevailed, would readily dissolve their connexion with the Union, and make a separate peace. But Plattsburg and M'Donough's fleet arrested

“ * * * * * Our country is engaged in a *just* and (of late) *successful* war. Our resources are abundant, our government is adequate, and our citizens are brave, enterprising, and intelligent. Union alone can secure us the blessings of peace. While our commissioners are negotiating with the most earnest solicitude for their country's welfare—while our army and navy are defending the soil, and maintaining the honour and glory of our country—while our brave yeomanry are rushing like a torrent from the mountains to the shore to meet and repel the invader, and the spirit of party is becoming absorbed in the spirit of patriotism, why should Massachusetts, great, powerful, respectable Massachusetts, form a combination which will defeat the hopes of the *friends of peace*, and aid and encourage a powerful and vindictive enemy? * * * * * Ambition has destroyed every other republic on earth. The United States stand alone, like a solitary rock, in the midst of the ocean, surrounded and assailed by storms and tempests. In vain may we look for aid, except from union, energy, and Heaven; apprehending and believing that from neither of these sources can we expect it so long as we indulge in the adoption of such resolutions,” (the resolutions convoking the Hartford Convention) “we have prepared and signed the foregoing protest.”

the expedition, and delivered New England from the *temptation* of becoming a province of the British Empire.

The opposition of the Federalists was also an adverse circumstance, because its natural effect was to diminish the number of those who would otherwise have hastened to the defence of their country. In other words, its tendency was to lessen the efficient power of the nation. It did lessen it; and it often did so in such an indirect manner, and by such a process, that it was difficult to trace the connexion between the federal opposition and the diminution of the force of the country, while it was most certain that such a connexion existed. We might cite many examples illustrative of this remote and indirect influence. Take the following :

When a large body of Americans under General Van Rensselaer crossed into Canada, and became engaged in the battle of Queenstown, the general returned to the American side of the river to hasten the passage of the troops who were to come to his assistance. He found them reading the constitution of the United States, to find out whether it was lawful to cross the boundary, and go into Canada, in order to fight the British. They didn't go ; they were *constitutional* cowards. Was there any connexion between their constitutional scruples and the steady opposition of the Federalists to the war ?

This party opposition had, however, an origin deep in our political system. It was a result—a fact—an occurrence which in its nature belongs to our government. I do not mean that the particular opposition of the Federalists in that case was necessarily connected with the nature of our government ; but I mean that from the structure of our political system—from the large amount of liberty here enjoyed—from the free discussion of all public matters—from the collision of different interests—

from the accident of personal preferences—from the ordinary imperfections of human nature, that give rise to different opinions among honest and enlightened men—from all these sources *an* opposition will perhaps always be organized against the leading measures of our government. From these sources an opposition has in fact always been formed to the men at the head of the republic, and “judging of the future by the past,” we are not to expect unanimity in time to come. Partyism—differences of opinion as to public measures both of peace and war—may therefore be set down as inseparable from the form of our government. This is what is to be understood when it is said that the opposition of the Federalists to the war of 1812 had an origin deep in our political system. It sprang from the sources that gave rise to all the party contests that have occurred from the foundation of the government to the present hour. The fall of the party which in our own country opposed the war is, however, a lesson full of instruction and warning to those who, in time to come, may be disposed to resist the government in its collisions with foreign nations. Such conduct will not be repeated.

The patriotism of the people finally rejected the trammels of party; many of the Federalists came into the support of the war; and the nation appeared to grow stronger as the contest progressed.

VI. But the struggle in America was materially affected by the change of affairs in Europe.

When the war was declared, Napoleon was on his way to Russia, with half a million of soldiers, to compel its emperor to adopt the continental system. The terrible reverses of that campaign prepared the way for the destruction of his power; and, after a year of unparalleled fighting, all Europe was congregated at Paris;

the emperor abdicated, and in the spring of 1814 went an exile to Elba. These events extended their influence to American affairs, and cut off, or rather removed, the causes of the war. The impressment of American seamen, and the paper blockades which had destroyed our commerce, were, for the time, abandoned by Great Britain. She had, indeed, soon after the war commenced, repealed her orders in council which had been so destructive to American commerce; and now that the struggle with France was ended, there was a probability that blockading the continent of Europe by the mere orders of the British cabinet, would not be soon repeated.

There was, therefore, no longer any direct object to be gained by a continuation of the contest. For the abstract right was now all that remained to fight about, and both nations were too much given to matter of fact to spend blood and treasure for a theory. With regard to impressment and blockade, it was not the *theory*, but the *practice* which had given offence to the Americans; and when the British government, at the fall of Napoleon, discontinued the practice, or rather declared its willingness, for the time being, to let American ships go where they chose without being searched, there was no insuperable difficulty in procuring a cessation of hostilities. Accordingly, the treaty of Ghent, restoring peace between the two nations, was negotiated to a conclusion, and signed in December 1814. Previously, however, to this result, the United States being left alone to fight against Great Britain, made preparations on a more extensive scale for continuing hostilities. The pillaging warfare of the British in the bay and rivers of the Chesapeake, and at other points, excited the Americans to increased exertions, and brought them with greater earnestness into the contest. The vigour

and energy with which they now entered upon it, showed that they were just beginning to fight ; and also proved the important fact, that OUR GOVERNMENT IS ABLE TO RALLY THE FORCE OF THE NATION IN DEFENCE OF ITS RIGHTS.

This last fact is one of much interest to the friends of our republican system. Indeed, the strength of the nation seemed to accumulate with the progress of the war ; and though the local militia on land, and the privateers at sea, acted rather “on their own hook” than under the control of the government, they nevertheless brought the force of the nation into the contest. The disaffection arising from party prejudices greatly subsided before the treaty of peace, or was rebuked in such a manner that it was unable to prevent the efficient and united action of the American people. This was just the point in which it was feared the weakness of the republic lay. The power of democracy in America is so much diffused—dispersed—diluted—and portioned out among individuals, and districts, and parties, and states, that there is apparently a want of centralization, of combined action. But the apprehensions of weakness arising from this dispersion, were themselves dispersed by the fact, that in the war of 1812 the whole country, as in the days of the Revolution, moved to the work of defence. The irruptions of the British into the territory of the United States were, with the exception of the inroad upon Washington City, attended with uniform defeat. Even the veteran soldiers of Wellington, who had driven the French from Spain, were unsuccessful both at Plattsburg and Orleans. These results, and the results of the whole war, intimated that there is a sufficient intelligence in our republic to direct its foreign

affairs, and sufficient power to protect itself against foreign foes. The federative system proved itself able to bring the people up to the successful defence of their country.

Our only object in presenting this idea is to show that a democracy—the democracy of the United States—is capable of taking care of itself, and protecting itself against aggressions from without. It is frequently urged, that though the people of a nation may be able to govern themselves, yet in their foreign relations and foreign wars they need the wisdom of an aristocracy to direct their affairs, and the power of a monarch to concentrate their energies. But the events of the war of 1812 proved that the centralizing genius of a monarch is not needed to rally the people of the United States in the defence of their rights. Much less is the *wisdom* of an aristocracy needed to direct the affairs of this people. They comprehend their foreign relations. They are also acquainted with their own internal resources; and their public men are not inferior to any titled aristocracy of any nation, either in the intelligence or the ability to direct the external affairs of the country. If great errors were committed at the commencement of the war of 1812, a despot and an aristocracy may commit, and often have committed still more grievous errors in the management of public affairs. We do not say that a republic can manage its foreign relations *better* than a monarchy, or conduct its wars with more energy than a despotism; nor do we say that the mere fact, that our republic can concentrate its energies against a foreign enemy, is any proof of the superiority of our institutions. Napoleon concentrated the energies of France, and Alexander those of Russia. Other despots have done

the same. We do not claim for our republic any superiority in this respect. All that we say is that our system of institutions operates in such a manner that it brings the force of the nation to the protection of the nation's rights. If, in national defence, our republic is not *superior* to a monarchy, it has proved itself not to be *inferior*.

But what was gained by the war of 1812? Did it prove that a democracy can negotiate as well as fight? I have said that the fall of Napoleon and the cessation of the wars in Europe, prepared the way for peace between the United States and Great Britain. But the treaty of Ghent, by which that peace was concluded, did not make any provision upon the subject of neutral rights. The abstract questions about blockades and the right of search were passed over in silence, the understanding between the two governments being that neither of these subjects would give any trouble so long as Europe remained in peace. It has been frequently said that the United States failed in the object of the war, because they procured no adjustment of these questions. But our government, as already observed, did not think it advisable to embarrass the negotiations for peace by pressing Great Britain to acknowledge rights that were in no immediate danger. It is certainly a mistake, however, to suppose that in thus passing the matter over in silence, the Americans yielded to Great Britain the right of searching their ships, and removing from them such individuals as the searching officer might choose to pronounce British subjects. The United States, so far from yielding upon this point, were firmly resolved, at the close of the war, never to submit to such a *practice*—a resolution which has not been changed by

the long peace of more than thirty years. They were then of the opinion, and they are now of the opinion that the only admissible rule upon the subject is, that seamen on board of an American vessel shall be protected by the American flag.* The honour of the nation, and the protection it owes to its citizens, alike require that this rule, and no other, shall be adopted upon the subject.

We have now exhibited an example illustrative of the practical operation of our republic where its *external* affairs are concerned. What is the result? It may be summed up in a single sentence: *The force of the nation is readily concentrated in defence of its rights.* The ancient Greek republic was formed by a union of states;

* Since the above was written, the Hon. Daniel Webster, in his speech on the treaty of Washington, delivered in the Senate of the United States on the 6th and 7th of April, 1846, states the present position of the subject of impressment in strong and concise terms. After quoting from an official communication from himself, when secretary of state, to the British minister, the following declaration, "IN EVERY REGULARLY DOCUMENTED AMERICAN VESSEL, THE CREW WHO NAVIGATE IT WILL FIND THEIR PROTECTION IN THE FLAG THAT IS OVER THEM," he says:

"This declaration will stand. Not on account of any particular ability displayed in the letter with which it concludes, still less on account of the name that subscribed it. But it will stand because it announces the true principles of public law; because it announces the great doctrine of the equality and independence of nations upon the seas, and because it announces the determination of the government and the people of the United States to uphold those principles, and to maintain that doctrine through good report and through evil report for ever. We shall negotiate no more, nor attempt to negotiate more about impressment. We shall not treat hereafter of its limitation to parallels of latitude and longitude. We shall not treat of its allowance or disallowance in broad seas or narrow seas. We shall think no more of stipulating for exemption from its exercise of some of the persons composing crews. Henceforth the deck of every American vessel is inaccessible for any such purpose. It is protected, guarded, defended by the declaration I have read; and that declaration will stand."

but in the hour of attack from without, it was unable to concentrate its energies. Its democracy was too diffused—too local—and it ceased to be a democracy. The United States, however, have shown their ability to maintain themselves against aggressions from without. This was manifested by the main facts, phases, and results of the collision with Great Britain. Our government preserved, or rather fought its way into, a respectable position among the nations. It is no matter whether its power was brought into the contest by its own direct acts as a government, or by the voluntary acts of the people. In either point of view the truth is established, that the republican system existing in America, though weak in *form*, is strong in *fact*.

Do you ask wherein its great strength lies? We reply not in those bearded Sampsons—the kings appointed by Heaven to rule. There is here a diffused strength—diffused along the Atlantic—diffused through the pine, and oak, and hickory woods of the mountains—diffused all over the great West—found on the Alleghanies, and giving signs of life in the valley of the Columbia. And yet the genius of our institutions is such that this strength, dispersed over such a space, and through the heads and hearts and muscle of a widely scattered democracy, can nevertheless be readily concentrated in defence of the nation. The people here voluntarily—spontaneously—patriotically put forth those defensive exertions which in monarchies and despotisms are obtained by coercion. Here is power—force—the energy of a governing people. Here lies the strength of our republic. It has obeyed the golden rule; and it has the power to compel other nations to obey it, so far as to do justice to the American people.

These considerations warrant us in indulging pleasing hopes of the permanence of our political system. They give us such a faith, because they are evidences—practical proofs of the moral force of the people—proofs of their intelligence and patriotism. Without this intelligence and patriotism, our government is weak. With them, it will endure through long ages to come.

LECTURE X.

GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENSION—CONSERVATIVE INFLUENCES.

Many peculiarities of the United States attributable to the condition of the natives and the great extent of country in North America—Geographical extension: I. Limits of the United States at the close of the Revolution—Settlement of the region between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi—The fertility of the country and the rapid increase of its population—The new states formed between the Alleghany Mountains and Mississippi river; II. The Louisiana purchase—Its extent—Circumstances which gave it to the United States—The advantages of this acquisition; III. The acquisition of Florida—Its addition furnishes the United States a natural boundary on the south; IV. The annexation of Texas—Statement of the arguments upon the question of its admission—Benefits derived from these several acquisitions of territory; V. Extension of the United States to the Pacific—Oregon and its limits—Its benefit to the United States and to the progress of civilization—Summary of the geographical additions to the Union.

Conservative influences—They are *moral, political, and mechanical*: I. The moral influences (1), Education (2), Religion (3), Uniformity of laws, languages, and habits; II. The political influences (1), The federative system (2), The ballot-box; III. The material influences (1), The power of steam (2), The public press (3), Improvements in the arts—Effect of these combined influences upon the permanence of our republican system—Conclusion.

WHAT has been the operation of the republican system of the United States? What results have been reached in the time that is past, and what results are to be expected in the time that is to come? A trial of seventy years has proved the practicability of the system. Our government is no longer an experiment. Through war and peace, through prosperity and through adversity, through evil report and through good report, through

perils within and perils without, it has moved steadily onward, extending in territory and growing in power. *Numerically*, the population has increased from three to twenty millions, since the Declaration of Independence was signed. *Geographically*, the limits—the actual settled limits of the country—have been removed from the ridge of the Alleghanies to the base of the Rocky Mountains. Over this vast space, and among all these millions, the institutions of our country have become established, determined—and, as we trust, permanent.

Some parts of the world are governed too much, and others too little—no very sage remark it is true—but it is made for the purpose of adding that the republic of the United States is placed midway between despotism and anarchy. Its position is at that point where disorder yields to government, and where tyranny—the sovereign rule of legitimacy—has not yet commenced. Leaving man in the full enjoyment of his native energy, it surrounds him with the guardianship of law. The circumstances which gave it this position are to be found partly in the history of the European race during the last two thousand years, and partly in the peculiar condition of North America. A new form of political organization, originating in both these sources, has here developed itself. We call it *new*, because in its main essential features there is nothing in the Old World with which to compare it. If we look to the very Old World—to Asia, the cradle of the human race—there is not found in all its revolutions and changes any political system similar to our own. *There*, when the curtain rises, venerable patriarchs appear upon the stage—the land is soon covered with a population—all over it there are husbands with numerous wives and little ones, and flocks and herds. Their government is their own—

sometimes patriarchal—generally despotic—never republican. If we look to Europe—another division of the Old World—in what corner of its surface, or in what age of its history do we find a political organization similar to the United States. It had its Grecians and its Romans in olden times, and its Swiss and its Hollanders in more modern days; but its modern republics were aristocracies, and its ancient republics were small states, which, when they grew to the size of a Massachusetts or a Kentucky, passed into regal or imperial governments. The legitimacy of Europe has generally had the ascendancy over its democracy. Tacitus, indeed, says some wondrously democratic things of those Indians, the ancient Germans—and says them too in good classic Latin; but his little tract on the “manners of the Germans” is perhaps as veracious as the history of Robinson Crusoe. We cannot forget that it was written by the historian who describes the Jews as idolaters who worshipped asses, and made statues of swine. But without criticising Tacitus, we are warranted in saying that Europe has had its own peculiar circumstances, and its own political organization. Its feudal system, its early barbarism, and its later science, were its own. North America has also had and still has its peculiar circumstances, and now has its peculiar political organization. Like other portions of the world—like Asia and Europe—it has fish of its own—birds of its own—canebrakes of its own, and a political system of its own. True, its present possessors, the Anglo-Saxon and Celtic race, brought their mills, their spades, their spelling-books, and their Bibles from the houses of their fathers beyond the water; but when arrived here they adapted themselves to the circumstances of the country. They fought the Indians, because the Indians were here. They

established republics, because they came here to escape from oppression. They rapidly filled the country, because wealth, comfort, and a good conscience beckoned them hither. They modelled their government according to their own wishes, because here there were no standing armies—no crowned heads—no monarchical institutions to interfere with their democratic notions. The government they established accordingly received its peculiar form from the ideas they imported, and from the circumstances in which they found themselves when here. Among these circumstances, the condition of the natives, and the immense extent of uncultivated country, have had a most marked effect upon our republican system.

We have said that there were Indians here—tall, dusky fellows, with painted faces, copper-coloured skins, and long straight black hair. But the red men gradually melted away before the civilization that was imported from Europe. Cities rose where their wigwams once stood; the flail was heard where their hunting-grounds had been; and new expansions—new facts in character, in politics, and in genius, were made known. From the condition of the country—from the small number of its aboriginal inhabitants—and from the enterprising character of the emigrants—from their wants, wishes, and perseverance, there was, after the first settlements along the Atlantic, a continual advancement of the Europeans—an unceasing progress—a pushing forward into the forests of this vast continent. The scattered natives gave place to the millions of white men. Hence, there has been a constant addition to the settled, cultivated part of the country. The United States have thus progressed not merely *numerically*, but also *geographically*. They have not only added millions of people, but mil-

lions of cultivated acres to the old thirteen states. They have increased in political knowledge, and they have also increased in geographical knowledge.

This geographical progress will claim much of our attention in the present lecture.

I. Let us first examine a little into the territorial extent of the United States at the organization of the government. What were then its inhabited limits? Its actually settled—tamed—cultivated part? And what were then its paper boundaries—its diplomatic extent, as regulated by the treaties which recognised our independence. At present the territory of the United States reaches across the continent, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the lakes on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south. How has it acquired this expansion, and what have been the main steps of its onward territorial march? To answer such questions permit us to act the geographer for a few minutes. North America, in regard to its natural features, exhibits four grand divisions: the northern, the eastern, and the western declivities, and the great valley of the interior. The first of these embraces all that region whose waters, flowing towards the north and northeast, empty themselves into the Arctic Ocean and Hudson's bay. This forms the great hunting-ground of the fur companies, and is perhaps unsuited to the permanent residence of a numerous population, or to the existence of a separate national government. The second declivity is that slope whose waters, flowing from the eastern side of the Alleghanies, and from the great lakes on the north, pour themselves into the Atlantic ocean. The western declivity dips from the summit of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, and sends most of its waters to the ocean by the Colorado and Columbia rivers. The great region

of the interior, generally called the Mississippi valley, contains all the country between the Alleghany and Rocky Mountains, and sends its streams southward to the Gulf of Mexico. This last is by far the most fertile and luxuriant portion of North America, and in it the greatest expansion of the United States has taken place.

Of these four divisions, the eastern declivity was the region where our republican institutions were first planted. The adventurers from Europe, who came hither to seek repose and freedom, and wealth, and new homes, dispersed themselves along the Atlantic border, and gradually pushed westward to the Alleghanies. This ridge of hills, rising in Georgia and running towards the northeast, adapts its zigzags nearly to those of the Atlantic until it gets round the head waters of the Susquehanna, when it sweeps still more to the northeast, and *loses itself* in the Green Mountains, and among the unchained hills of New England. At the time of the Revolution, this line of heights was the western boundary of the inhabited part of the country. A few English settlements had been made on the western side of it, at Pittsburgh, and at other points; but they were yet in their infancy, and were mere experiments of hardy and adventurous pioneers. The “backwoods” began, in those days, at the Alleghanies; and the country between these hills and the Atlantic coast, contained the main body of the men who did the work of the Revolution. But if the Atlantic declivity was at that time the real and actual area of the United States, the prospective, or diplomatic boundary, lay far west of the Alleghanies. Let us see where this *nominal* boundary-line was established, and then trace the general course of affairs by which it became, and again ceased to be, the *actual* limits of our republic.

We have already stated that many of the colonies, which were planted on the Atlantic, extended their kite-like tails, by charter, westward to the Pacific. Such was the western limit assigned to Georgia, the Carolinas, Virginia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York, in all the public charters and documents referring to their geography. On the other hand, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, were, from time to time, carved out of the region originally included within the chartered limits of Virginia and Massachusetts, and boundaries were assigned to them nearly or altogether coinciding with those which they at present have. The country west of them was theoretically retained by the colonies from which they had been taken. We say theoretically, for actually Pennsylvania was, at the time of the Revolution, inhabited as far towards the west as Virginia. It is unnecessary to explain the fact, that this ocean limitation towards the west was assigned in utter ignorance of the geography of the country. The Pacific was supposed to be *about* where the Alleghanies were subsequently found—an assertion which is confirmed by numerous incidents, and, among others, by the fact that Smith—Captain John Smith we mean—was searching for that ocean along the head waters of the James River, when Powhattan caught him and sent him back, telling him that the Pacific ocean was not in those parts.

But Smith died, and Powhattan died, and all that generation died; new actors appeared upon the stage; the progress of discovery towards the west continued—slowly indeed—but still it continued—and the French finally penetrated into the great valley of the interior. They crossed from the lakes on the northwest, and came to the Missississppi, down which they descended to the

Gulf of Mexico. By virtue of these discoveries, France put in a claim to the valley of the Mississippi, the great interior region between the Alleghany and Rocky Mountains. 'This country she erected into a territorial government, and named it Louisiana, in honour of the divinely-commissioned Louis XIV. French adventurers penetrated into it, and formed settlements at Orleans, at Natchez, at Vincennes, and at other points, promising themselves rich treasures of private gain, and the addition of a western empire to the mother country. No very definite limits were assigned to Louisiana, but we will not be much out of its geography by saying that it included all the country between the Alleghany and Rocky Mountains, from the Gulf of Mexico to the head waters of the Mississippi, and the lakes of the north.

The claim of the French to this garden of North America, threatened a most serious interference with the territorial rights of the Atlantic colonies. A long series of disputes ensued, which, after reaching across half a century, eventuated in the seven years' war, generally known in our country as the Old French War. Its results were fatal to the territorial pretensions of France in North America. By the treaty of peace in 1763, she was stripped of Canada and of all Louisiana east of the Mississippi, with the exception of a small tract of land near its mouth. All this region came into the undisputed possession of Great Britain, who at the same time acquired the Floridas from Spain, and thus became sole mistress of the country east of the Mississippi from the Gulf of Mexico to the remote north.

This was the geography of English America at the commencement of the Revolution. By the treaty of peace, which recognised the independence of the colonies, their boundaries were adjusted ; but without pur-

suing the formal language of that treaty, it will be sufficient to say that it designated Canada as the boundary of the United States on the north, the Mississippi river as the boundary on the west, and the thirty-first parallel of latitude and the Floridas as the boundary on the south. By this adjustment, the Mississippi river, and not the Pacific, became the nominal limit on the west—Great Britain giving in that direction all she had to give. By inspecting any map of the country, it will be seen that the United States, being limited on the south by the thirty-first parallel of latitude, were deprived of the mouths of the rivers that open into the Gulf of Mexico. This restriction originated in the fact that Spain was a party in the war of our Revolution, and in the adjustment of affairs at its close, obtained the Floridas from Great Britain. She had formerly obtained what was left of Louisiana from France; and thus the United States had Spanish territories on the west and on the south.

From this sketch, it will readily be perceived that the states retained the same western boundary which they had in their colonial days—being permitted to extend to the Mississippi. But as already observed, the ridge of the Alleghanies was in general the limit of the actually settled country at the time of the Declaration of Independence. Between those mountains and the Mississippi there lay an extensive tract of country, intersected in all directions by navigable streams and covered with the primeval forests. To pay the expenses of the Revolution, and for divers other considerations, those states whose boundaries extending to the Mississippi included these wild lands ceded the western portion of their territory to the general government. By these cessions or donations, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, divested

themselves of extensive possessions and designated their boundaries as they exist at present. The region thus conferred upon the general government, subject to certain reservations, became the Public Lands of the United States, and was equal to about one-half of all the area of the country between the Mississippi and the Atlantic.

The territory of the United States, as we have now described it, was rapidly populated. On the Atlantic side, the states of Vermont and Maine have been added to the old thirteen. Vermont was a flourishing district before the Revolution; but the sovereignty over it being claimed both by New York and New Hampshire, the inhabitants declared themselves independent of both of those states, and erected a government of their own. Their pretensions were not recognised for several years; but after they had fought along through the revolution, and through the hard times of the confederation, the difficulties were finally adjusted, and Vermont was admitted into the Union. Maine came in at a later day, being set off from the territory included within Massachusetts. These two additions completed all that was to be added on the northeast.

But it was in the west that the fertile valleys and rich lands were to furnish millions of additional inhabitants and extensive states. The Revolution was hardly accomplished when the tide of emigration began to carry its thousands towards the west; and hardy adventurers encountered privations and Indians, and scattered themselves along the mountain slopes, round the head springs, and on the borders of the streams that flow from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi. The region northwest of the Ohio was erected into a territorial government in 1787, and in a few years fruitful fields were interspersed all through that ancient wilderness. Projects of specu-

lation carried many from the Atlantic states to that land of promise ; and companies, associations of wealthy men in the eastern states, attempted to form extensive settlements in the west, with the view of individual gain. Among the first of these associations appeared the New England Ohio Company, which endeavoured to establish a colony on the lands beginning at the mouth of the Muskingum, and reaching northward to Lake Erie. But companies for colonization in North America have generally failed. The extension of democratic government does not seem to need their agency—at least they have generally been dispensed with. I have noticed the New England Ohio Company, because it was the first Anglo-American company which attempted for the west the same service that similar associations had at an earlier period attempted in the east, and because like them it was a failure. Individual enterprise—prospects of private gain—the desire to have plenty of land, and liberty to manage their houses and farms, and children in their own way, became the all-powerful motives to emigrate to the west. Accordingly, every man who went thither, went with his own peculiar views—went a freeman, and became more a freeman after arriving in his new home. Such a system of self-reliance cultivated a character of independence which, when combined as it has been, with a high regard for law and government, formed a most republican—a most democratic population. This spirit of private enterprise soon carried thousands of emigrants into the region northwest of the Ohio. Farms were there cultivated, cities were laid out, towns were built, government was organized ; and the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, have been erected, while some of the first settlers in the region yet live to be numbered among the inhabitants. The northwest

territory has receded more and more, and is now cornered in the angular space between Lake Superior and Lake Michigan, where it bides its time, preparing to add yet another state to the Union.

So rapidly have the four states northwest of the Ohio increased in population, that they now contain about three millions of inhabitants—a number equal to that of all the states in the days of the Revolution. This population has carried with it, or rather has adopted, republican institutions in all their purity. Their progress into that wilderness has been the progress of democracy—it has literally and geographically been the progress of the United States.

If we direct our attention to the country southeast of the Ohio, we observe a similar series of facts. Emigrants, animated by all the various motives that can prompt man to action, found their way to the rich regions of Kentucky and Tennessee. Who that hath ears to hear hath not heard of Daniel Boone?—old hunting, pioneering, backwoods Daniel. Why is he not cut out in marble and set up on a pedestal, or in a niche, just as he stood, wearing his bear-skin cap, leaning on his rifle, and looking down with a tranquil, contemplative eye from a peak of the Alleghany Mountains into the rich valleys of Kentucky. Chisel Daniel Boone in marble! It is a useless work. He lives in the history of the country. He was a type, an imbodiment, a fair representative of the adventurous spirit that carried millions into the great valley of the interior. His pioneering genius speedily pervaded thousands, and the backwoodsmen of Virginia and the Carolinas pushed farther into the wilderness, and it soon ceased to be a wilderness.

The early emigrants into the west, like their predecessors on the Atlantic declivity, had great and serious

difficulties to contend against. It is an easy matter to sit in a comfortable, well-cushioned chair, and read of their sufferings, and heroism, and perseverance. But get away to the woods, where the huge trees stand, the patriarchs of centuries—where savages are yelling—where bread is scarce—where square log-houses covered with clapboards struggle to keep the rain out and the heat in—where neighbours are few and wild beasts abundant—get away, I say, to these stern realities, and you are in the presence of the heroes—the genuine heroes—who settled and tamed the west, and gave our republic its geographical expansion. We call them heroes; for their adventures, their sufferings, and their triumphs, mark out the heroic age of our country. If we inquire concerning the difficulties and dangers to which they were exposed, hundreds of legends and fragmentary publications tell us of the Indians who sternly resisted the advance of the English into the region west of the Alleghanies. The war of the Revolution left those savages in a bad humour, and they viewed with jealous eyes the encroachment of the white population upon their hunting-grounds—they picked their flints, sharpened their tomahawks, and prepared their paint. They waged a long and bloody contest with the emigrants on the east of the Mississippi, and persevered till their warriors and their hopes were destroyed. They would neither amalgamate with the Europeans nor recede before them. They stood their ground, refusing to receive by infusion the civilization of the white race, and striving to maintain the possessions and the savage independence of their forefathers. They rendered more than one spot a “dark and bloody ground;” but they were resisting a law of nature—at least a law of human nature—for the general current of human affairs was

impelling a people who carried with them the arts and the power of civilization against rude and barbarous tribes, who personally were heroes, but who had neither the intelligence, the numbers, nor the political organization sufficient to resist the onward, unceasing, mighty stream of emigration. There was no equality between the forces brought into collision. On one side were arrayed, great numbers, a moral energy, an unceasing accession from the east, the arts, the arms, and the address of civilization. On the other appeared, the dispersed and disunited aborigines, striving in vain to array savage heroism and individual prowess against the pressure of the opposing mass. The contest was in every point of view unequal. The laws of nature were not changed, and the weaker force yielded to the stronger. It yielded with many a violent spasm, but yet it yielded.

We have said that the number of the Indians was small. From their roving mode of life, and want of political unity, no accurate knowledge of their numbers has ever been obtained. Various estimates concerning them have been made, all based on conjecture and on the Single Rule of Three rather than upon actual, old-fashioned counting. John Filson, geographer and historiographer to Daniel Boone, and who published in 1784, "The Discovery, Purchase, and Settlement of Kentucke," enumerates twenty-eight tribes of Indians, all that were then known on the east of the Mississippi, and puts down their number at "twenty thousand souls in all." Imlay, the writer of the topographical description of Kentucky, estimates sixty thousand Indians in the valley of the Mississippi, including nearly all the range between the Alleghany and Rocky Mountains. These estimates are certainly too small; and we will have doubtless a closer approximation to the truth by

trippling them, and allowing sixty thousand on the east of the Mississippi, and one hundred and eighty thousand between the Alleghany and Rocky Mountains. These numbers, it is true, are made by arithmetic and clever guessing, but they are quite as high as the best authorities admit, and sufficiently accurate for the only purpose I now have in view, which is to represent the conquest and expulsion of the Indians as the inevitable result of their collision or contact with the white race. But they maintained the conflict for twenty years on the southeast of the Ohio, and inflicted wound after wound upon the emigrants. Their code of warfare had no name for mercy. But they finally vanished from the presence of their foes, and many of their tribes ceased to exist.

Notwithstanding the resistance of the Indians, the stream of emigration to the west flowed on; and by the year 1790 there were about one hundred thousand inhabitants scattered over the region between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, a large proportion of whom were within the limits of the present states of Kentucky and Tennessee. These were merely the forerunners of the millions that followed. One emigrant attracted ten after him.

The wants and cares of this population soon impressed a distinctive character upon them. They were in the woods, on the borders of magnificent streams, exposed to dangers, away from the monarchical institutions of Europe, away from the cultivated life of the Atlantic border, among mountains, in rich valleys, almost in a world of their own, and yet receiving continually additions from the east. From all these modifying influences, they grew up a patriotic, a high-minded, and a republican people. They created—literally, and by

no figure of speech—they *created* around them the comforts, and luxuries, and elegancies of life.

Their political organization kept pace with their political wants. In 1790, Congress erected the country southeast of the Ohio into a territorial government, and extended to it the laws of the Union. Kentucky had received much of its population from Virginia, within whose ancient limits it lay, and under whose laws it continued for a time. Tennessee grew up nominally under the laws of North Carolina, but in fact under the laws of the emigrants themselves. They erected the eastern part of that region into a government, and gave it the significant name of the state of Frankland, and it was most literally a *freeland*. It came, however, in collision with the authorities of North Carolina, and after much heart-break, and a little bloodshed, Frankland submitted to the parent state, and subsequently passed, by cession from North Carolina, to the general government, and was included in the southeast territory.

But the condition of the whole territory south of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, was continually varying. Every year brought a new state of affairs; the main feature of all the changes being a rapid increase in population, and an extension of popular institutions. In a few years, Kentucky and Tennessee were erected into states, and added to the Union. Alabama and Mississippi were at a later day carved out of the same region, and took their place in the nation.

Thus eight states have been formed between the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi river, within the boundaries of the United States as established by the treaty which recognised their independence. The population which hastened to this region were schooled in the business of self-government, many of them being

natives of the Eastern States. Consequently, when established in their new homes, their ability to make their own laws, their desire of popular government, their correct views of the work of the Revolution, and their whole political creed, fitted them—eminently fitted them to embrace, protect, and extend our republican system. They therefore adopted democratic institutions, because such institutions were congenial with all their habits, tastes, and wants. Their political organization was, in the main, their own work. It was not the force of congressional acts that erected them into states. The country, the western country we mean, invited them to come to its rich lands. They went, and when there they adopted that system of laws and that code of liberty which was suited to their condition and their necessities. But their laws, government, and institutions, harmonized with those of the Eastern States. They therefore came forward, from time to time, and added their wealth, their strength, and their influence to the Union. Here was progress—geographically—numerically. These eight states extend over a great surface. They are still increasing in population, and are capable of containing, and will soon contain, many millions of inhabitants more than they have at present.

II. Let us next inquire into the geographical extension which was effected for our republic by the purchase of Louisiana. The United States were not destined to be limited by the Mississippi on the west, and penned in by artificial lines on the south. Astronomers make parallels of latitude, but nature made the Gulf of Mexico. Every nation strives for those *natural* boundaries which are pointed out by its wants and its convenience; and no nation ever needed a natural boundary more than the United States needed the Gulf of Mexico for their

southern limit. There was indeed a necessity—an irresistible necessity, that the people who inhabited the rich lands in the upper region of the Mississippi, should have the control and unlimited use of that river to its mouth. To deprive them of this natural communication with the rest of the world, would in reality cut off the great commercial artery which afforded them nourishment and life. There is such a fact as *contiguity*—a natural unity of country arising from the course of trade, and from the necessity of possessing one region in order to have the full enjoyment of another with which it is connected. Such a contiguity—such a natural unity exists in the west, in the great valley of the interior, where one nation cannot have the full possession and enjoyment of the fruitful plains and slopes that are watered by the rivers, while another has the control of the bays and harbours, and river mouths that open to the ocean. Nature has established a harmony and a correspondence between the wants of man and the structure of the earth. Rivers and oceans have become the highways of the world. But in regard of these provisions of nature, the treaty of independence gave to our republic the vast and fruitful territory which now composes the eight states between the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi, and yet cut off all this western country from its obvious channel of communication with the commercial world. The thirty-first parallel of latitude, which was assigned as the boundary on the south, shut out, or rather shut in, the Western States from the ocean. Spain having acquired the country round the Gulf of Mexico, held a power which was inconsistent with the interests and necessities of the citizens of the United States in the west. She had her hand upon the great aorta of their circulation, and frequently made them feel its pressure. The

United States had, indeed, made treaties with her respecting the commercial interests of the west, but Spanish governors often violated them ; and while our republic was negotiating for redress, the western people were suffering. Nor were they blind to their interests, or disposed to suffer in silence. They sent up frequent and earnest appeals for the protection of our government ; and rumours, originating in suspicion, began to float about that their interests were alienating their affections from their brethren in the east, and pointing towards the organization of a new republic in the west, whose first business would be to negotiate or conquer a free use of the Mississippi. The public ear was frequently saluted with reports of expeditions planned from the west against Mexico, against Orleans, and against other points of the Spanish possessions. The common basis of all this claim was at the mouth of the Mississippi. That strip of land being under Spanish control, agitated all the west, and created serious apprehensions in the east.

Such a state of affairs was intolerable. The permanence of our institutions, and their extension in a combined system upon this continent, required that the evil should be removed. Propositions were made, and seriously debated in Congress, to seize upon Orleans by force, and open to the ocean that communication which was essential to the wants of the west, and which had been interrupted by Spain. But the course of affairs in Europe took such a direction, that the United States acquired by negotiation not only the mouth of the Mississippi, but all the vast region of country which lies between that river and the *far, far* west. Viewed in reference to these circumstances, the purchase of Louisiana in 1803 was an affair of the greatest consequence to our republic ; for, while it quieted the fears of the people

of the west, it brought a great addition of strength to the nation. This strength was derived not so much from the increase of territory as from the acquisition of an outlet for the trade of the interior.

But what was Louisiana? We have frequently referred to its fortunes in the previous lectures, and have space to add but little more concerning it. Go back to a very remote American antiquity—go back a whole century from the present time, and what is Louisiana? The name then designated all the interior of America, having Canada on the north, the Alleghenies on the east, and extending westward—as far as it extended. Shadowy and vast enough, it is true; but this was the meaning of Louisiana in the French language. In English it did not mean quite so much. After the seven years' war, and the peace of 1763, this territory was driven to the western side of the Mississippi, except near the mouth of that river, where it extended across and rested its dimly defined eastern corner on the “line of the Perdido.” According to this geography, it had the Canada line on the north at the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, the Mississippi on the east, the Gulf of Mexico and the Spanish possessions on the south, while towards the west it stretched away over the prairies, mountains, rivers, and deserts, towards the setting sun. With these dimensions it was transferred from France to Spain in 1763; with these dimensions it was retransferred to France in 1800, and with these dimensions it was ceded by France to the United States in 1803.

The troubled state of Europe threw this prize into the possession of our republic. Napoleon had acquired it from Spain; but the prospect of a war with England, and the earnest language of our republic upon the subject of the outlet at the mouth of the Mississippi, in-

duced him to transfer the whole of Louisiana to the United States. He saw the impossibility of defending it against England, in the approaching collision with that power, and to prevent it from falling into her grasp, he ceded it—granted, bargained, and sold it to our republic.

By this purchase the remainder of the magnificent valley of the Mississippi was added to the United States, and the territorial extent of our government nearly doubled. From the first discovery of that region by the French, they had endeavoured to colonize it; and hopes were entertained that it would speedily become the brightest jewel that adorned the crown of the sons of St. Louis. They expended vast sums of money in anxious attempts to give it a population, and render it a prosperous and productive country. Towards it were directed the anxious eyes of private adventurers and princely patrons, while the burning imagination of interested and credulous men beheld rich mines of gold, cultivated fields, and populous cities, dispersed over its ample surface. But it seems that the tastes, and habits, and whole life and temperament of the French, were unsuited to a residence in the vast solitudes of the western wilderness. The nature of the country required its colonization to be undertaken by men who could endure to live for weeks and months, and even years, away from the companionship of others, and who could find in the excitement of the chase, in the labour of the field, or in a contest with the Indians, full and pleasing employment for all the energies of mind and body. But of all men on the face of the earth, the Frenchman is, perhaps, the least adapted to the life of a backwoodsman. His inclinations and habits continually direct him to society as the source of his enjoyments. When transplanted to the valley of the Mississippi, and left

alone in the vast forests and extensive solitudes of nature, he felt within his heart an aching void which could not be filled by all the magnificence with which he was surrounded. He sighed for the companionship of his ancient neighbour, grew melancholy as he listened to the howl of the wild beast—found no solace even when a grand chorus of frogs sent up from lake and pond their united music to hail the returning spring; but directing his thoughts away from the wildness about him, he pined away under a Nostalgia—a patriotic *back-ache*—an earnest yearning to return to his native land. Such a man was most eminently disqualified for the work of cutting down the great trees, cleaning out the marshes, and changing the forests of Louisiana into a cultivated country. He contrasted most singularly with the Anglo-Saxon pioneer, who readily becomes a most efficient man in the woods, and acquires almost immediately a taste for roaming through the forests, and for living through weeks and months with few or no companions. This natural disposition of the French retarded their settlements in the valley of the Mississippi. Vast sums of money were expended by speculators in France, in the vain hope of building up the colony; but notwithstanding the millions that were lavished upon it, Louisiana remained nearly as nature made it—a great wilderness. Its French population continued sparse; their presence being manifested only in a few districts on the coast, and in a few settlements in the interior, while here and there a military post was the only symbol of their possession of the country. After its transfer to Spain in 1763, the French inhabitants which it contained continued in their possessions, and very reluctantly became Spanish subjects. During the thirty-seven years that it remained in possession of Spain, it made some progress in population.

The Spanish laws and institutions were introduced without much regard to their inappropriateness to the condition of the people; and the original French inhabitants and their descendants, sighed for a release from the dominion under which they were placed. They were accordingly well pleased when the changes in Europe retransferred them first to France; but not so well pleased with their transfer to the United States. They acquiesced, however, in the arrangement which gave them promise of becoming citizens of our republic. Napoleon seems to have beheld some dimly defined and gigantic visions of this fruitful region. But he saw that the new-born peace of Amiens was ready to expire, the notes of warlike preparation in England were sounding in his ears; and his pictures of grandeur in America faded away as he beheld English ships ready to sail to the Mississippi and deprive him for ever of Louisiana. To prevent this last result he transferred it to the United States.

And yet this extraordinary man, carefully, paternally, stipulated that the inhabitants of Louisiana should become citizens of our republic, and be in due time distributed into states and admitted into the Union, and that in the meantime they should be protected in the enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion. He specifically directed these provisions to be inserted in the treaty of cession, and thereby made arrangements that his French subjects in Louisiana should have the benefit of the laws and constitution of our republic.

Napoleon directed this—the graceless despot!

In the dispensations of Divine Providence, the bad and angry passions of man are often connected with results most beneficial to the human race. The bad temper existing between the rulers of France and Great Britain at the commencement of the present century, produced

a sensation over the whole world, being felt by the Cossack in the depths of Russia, and by the Indian at the base of the Rocky Mountains. Our country suffered many evils from this source ; but the acquisition of Louisiana, which was brought about by the agency of the same unholy passions, conferred an inestimable benefit upon the United States. This purchase not only added three hundred millions of acres to the territory of our government, but, what was of the greatest importance, it quieted the fears of the western people in regard to the navigation of the Mississippi, and established in part the natural boundaries of our country. It left the great artery of the west to carry nourishment to the people of the interior, and bound them more firmly to the Union. It removed the boundary from the Mississippi to the far west, and opened a fertile and well watered country to the influence of our republican institutions.

Since the time that Louisiana came into the possession of the United States, it has progressed rapidly in population and wealth. Already the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, and Iowa, have been carved out of it, three of which have been added to the Union, and the fourth stands ready, awaiting some subsidiary regulations to become a member of the republic. But still a magnificent portion of the Louisiana purchase remains uninhabited. The upper Mississippi on the western side, is yet in a great measure without a population—vast tracts of land remaining there in the primeval wildness of nature. The country around the heads of this river, and extending from it to the fountains of the Missouri at the base of the Rocky Mountains, is perhaps the most finely watered region in the world, being studded with lakes and intersected all over with rivulets whose waters, winding towards every point of the com-

pass, constantly converge towards the main streams, and flowing into the great river of the west, speed their way through varied climates from north to south, and finally roll their accumulated floods into the ocean, four thousand miles away from their source. Prairies and plateaux, and ridges of hills occasionally vary this land of springs, and afford ranges for herds of buffaloes, grizzly bears, and wandering Indians. This unpopulated region, the still untamed part of the Louisiana purchase, affords ample space out of which to erect twenty new states. The current of emigration is continually flowing towards it; and while the Eastern States send thither their pioneers with their democratic notions and their republican institutions, the overflowing millions of Europe stream in the same direction, and settling down at different points between the Atlantic coast and the Rocky Mountains, mix and amalgamate with the American people, and swell the tide that is moving towards the head waters of the Missouri. Already more than a million of inhabitants are dispersed over the states and territories west of the Mississippi, and millions more can yet be accommodated in that vast reservoir. There, whether derived from Europe or by natural increase, they will coalesce with the present population of our country. The old French and Spanish settlers are rapidly losing their peculiar characteristics. Time will smelt, fuse, and *confuse* the habits, languages, and diversities of all others who may come hither, into a single mass, and form a population entirely American in its character. Our institutions are already spread far into the Louisiana purchase; and while that great tract of country in the possession of our government forms a barrier against encroachments from the British on the north, and the Spaniards on the south, it also opens a

field for the wider and yet wider extension of our republican system.

III. The next geographical extension of the United States was in Florida, an acquisition that was made in 1819. In ancient Spanish geography, Florida embraced not only the peninsula that now bears that name, but all the Atlantic declivity from the Gulf of Mexico to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, or Canada, on the north. The well founded claims of England, however, interfered with these far-reaching boundaries; and the several Atlantic colonies gradually clipped away the head and body of Florida, and left merely the tail to project out southward into the ocean. Its Spanish sovereigns were not, indeed, entirely contented to be driven so far towards the south; and various manifestations of their desire to extend northward and westward shine out at intervals through the long space of nearly three hundred years. From 1763 to 1783, the country—Florida with its present dimensions—was in the possession of Great Britain; but was restored to Spain at the general pacification which established American independence. After that time its northern limit on the Atlantic “was clear and unquestionable;” but towards the west the Spaniards averred that it extended towards the Mississippi, and sweeping round towards the northwest, cut deep into the region that now lies within the states of Alabama and Mississippi. The United States resisted these claims of the Spaniards, and alleged that the Louisiana purchase extended on the Gulf of Mexico from the river Perdido, on the east of the Mississippi, to the Rio Grande. Various collisions occurred between the two governments in consequence of these conflicting pretensions. The United States finally took possession of this debatable land in 1810, and the Perdido became the western boundary of Florida. Du-

ring the administration of Mr. Jefferson, various efforts were made to obtain Florida; and the explicit instructions to the American plenipotentiaries, who negotiated the purchase of Louisiana, directed them to procure the mouth of the Mississippi and Florida. These instructions were given under the impression that France had the disposal of this desirable tract of land; but when it was found that Spain still retained it, application was made to her, but made without success. The possession of this territory by the Spaniards, was soon found to be entirely inconsistent with the peace and security of the southern border of the United States. In the actual relations of Great Britain to Spain, and to our own country, it became the rendezvous of the enemies of our republic; and in the war of 1812, and again in the Seminole war of 1817, it was found necessary for the American armies to invade Florida in order to reach the head-quarters of the hostile savages. The difficulties arising from these various interferences with national rights, and neutral rights, and Indian rights, kept the southern border of our country in unceasing alarm, and seriously endangered the amicable relations between the two governments. After various efforts made to terminate these contentions, a treaty was concluded in 1819 by which the United States came into peaceable possession of the desired country.

Florida has rapidly improved since it came under the control of the United States, and has recently been raised to the dignity of a state, and now forms a member of the Union.

The acquisition of this region was of great benefit to our republic, inasmuch as it made the ocean, and not the Spaniards, the limit on the southeast. It furnished the natural boundary of our country in that direction;

for the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic are evidently the natural boundaries of the United States on the southeast, inasmuch as many of the rivers in that quarter flow through Florida, and carry out and bring back the material of the internal wealth of the country. The interest of the western and southwestern states demand the unlimited use of the waters that flow from them—a use which they could not have in peace so long as the Spanish forts and flag were seen at the mouths of these streams. But the treaty of limits with Spain in 1819 transferred this country with its soil and sovereignty to the United States, and gave to the inhabitants of the interior a more free communication with the ocean.

IV. The next geographical extension of the United States was in the annexation of Texas. The party discussion in which this measure has been so recently involved, prohibits us from speaking of its policy at this time. And even if such a cause of silence did not exist, the animated and elaborate investigation of the subject, still fresh in the public mind, renders any details respecting it at present unnecessary. We will therefore content ourselves with a synopsis of the general course of the arguments by which this addition to our republic has been opposed and advocated. Such a summary is sufficient for our purpose.

The opponents of annexation relied upon the following objections:

1st. The United States has territory enough without Texas.

2d. The addition of this region will give a preponderance to the slave-holding interest of the south and southwest.

3d. It will endanger the Union by extending it in such a direction that the slave-holding states may be

tempted to dissolve their present connexions, and organize a southwestern republic.

4th. It will be of no advantage to the rest of the Union in a moral point of view, inasmuch as Texas, instead of being a land flowing with milk and honey, is a land overflowed with *hard cases*.

5th. Mexico has claims upon Texas, never having acknowledged its independence, and until she makes such a recognition the incorporation of it into our republic is inconsistent with the amicable relations between the United States and that government.

6th. Its annexation is a violation of the Consitution of the United States, inasmuch as that instrument confers no power upon the general government to acquire foreign territory.

This last objection was urged with much earnestness, and stood in a class by itself; the other five objections here enumerated forming another class, and having reference to the policy or expediency of the measures. They were of course deemed unanswerable by those who presented them.

On the other hand, the advocates of annexation presented the following views:

In regard to the constitutional objection, they met it by a direct denial, and asserted that the annexation would be no violation of that instrument. They alleged that the constitution does not prevent the general government from adding foreign territory to the United States; and they pointed to the purchase of Louisiana and Florida, which had already been made, and asserted that if they were constitutional, so also would be the annexation of Texas.

In reply to the other class of objections, namely,

those that deny the policy of the measure, they advanced the following considerations :

1st. There is no danger of a dissolution of the Union arising from the extension of territory towards the southwest.

2d. National defence requires us to secure this region, for, if Texas be not incorporated with the United States, it will, in all probability become an appendage to some European power, who will annoy us as the Spaniards did in Florida. It is perhaps unnecessary to add that Great Britain was singled out as that power.

3d. Slavery in the United States with Texas annexed will be no more extensive than it is independently of that territory, for though it may be established in that region it will thereby be drawn away from the more Northern States.

4th. Texas is a land of promise, with a soil fertile and well watered. Bounded by the Sabine on the east, and by the Rio Grande del Norte, or Great North river on the west, and intersected by the Colorado and Brasos, and other streams, it abounds in facilities for agriculture, and will speedily become a rich, populous, and productive state, increasing the revenues to the general treasury and forming a barrier of defence, and a most desirable addition to the strength of the Union.

5th. It is settled principally by emigrants from the United States, who carried with them our institutions, and are well fitted to form an enterprising and industrious state.

6th. It was really included in the Louisiana purchase and was improperly severed from our country by the treaty with Spain in 1819, which gave us Florida and defined our limit on the southwest; consequently its annexation will be merely a restoration of territory which once belonged to our republic.

7th. Finally, Mexico has no just claim upon the country, Texas having been for several years an independent state, and capable of disposing of herself according to her own views of policy.

Such are the main arguments by which this increase of territory was opposed and advocated. The usual fate of all party discussions attended these opposite views, the arguments in favour of annexation being regarded as perfectly visionary by one class of men, and the arguments in opposition to it being treated as equally visionary by another class of men. The territory was annexed, and Texas has her place among the states of the Union.

By these several acquisitions of Louisiana, Florida and Texas, the United States, which at the adoption of the constitution were limited by the Mississippi on the west and by the thirty-first parallel of latitude on the south, gradually expanded to the Rocky Mountains, to the Gulf of Mexico, and to the Great North river on the southwest. These additions have put our Republic in possession of all the great valley of the interior of North America. Here is a region sufficient for a vast empire, much of which has been added to the territory of our country since our national organization. That republic which began on the eastern slope of the Alleghanies first extended itself beyond that ridge of hills, then it spread itself to the Mississippi, then it crossed that river, then it pushed itself to the Gulf of Mexico, and now it has made another movement towards the southwest. By these several advances it has gained its natural boundaries on the south and southwest, and has nothing more to seek or to desire in that direction. Towards the west it has crossed the Rocky mountains and dipped its wings in the Pacific.

V. Another geographical extension of the United

States, and the last which we have to notice, is in the far-famed territory of Oregon. We call it far-famed, for its renown has penetrated to every log-cabin in the United States; and the national legislature, the public press, and the chambers of diplomacy, have just finished their discussions respecting our "clear and unquestionable" title to this region. It would therefore be both ungracious and unprofitable again to drag before the public the aching bones of this belaboured subject. A few words upon it will serve our purpose.

By Oregon is now understood the middle section of the western slope of North America, lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific, having Mexico on the south, and the notorious forty-ninth parallel of latitude on the north. The United States hold this territory by virtue of a triangular title, one corner of which rests on the Mexican line towards the south, another on the Louisiana purchase towards the east, and the third on the mouth of the Columbia river, discovered by Captain Gray in 1792. In other words, the United States either acquired Oregon from Spain by force of the treaty of 1819, or they acquired it by the discovery of the Columbia river, and the subsequent explorations and settlements in the country, or it was included within Louisiana, and became the property of our government by the purchase of that territory from France. But on whatever corner of the triangle the title of our republic rests, whether on the Spanish treaty, the Louisiana purchase, or the discovery of the Columbia, or on them all taken together, the fact, and the main important fact which we now care to notice is, that Oregon, with the boundaries just mentioned, *has become and is* a portion or territory of the United States. Nor is it a useless portion. Already emigrants, many of them natives of

our country, have found their way through the gates of the Rocky Mountains, and have fixed their abodes in the valleys of this far, far west region. Thither they are carrying the elements of European civilization, and the institutions, languages, and whole social and political life of our republic. Several states may be organized out of this new territory, whose addition to the Union will give to the United States a commanding and desirable position on the shores of the Pacific. From that remote quarter of our country the commerce of Asia may be reached with facility, and the glowing visions of the early navigators may yet be realized. They will be realized, though not so much by having found a route to the Indies as by the fact that, when our institutions are firmly established in Oregon, the Americanized European race will have progressed westward until Asia furnishes their nearest foreign market.

But another result may follow, which the early navigators and their patrons neither saw in vision nor reasoned out by enlarged views of the state of mankind. The result to which I refer may be stated briefly, as follows:

The popular institutions, and the arts, sciences, morals, and religion of the American people being extended beyond the Rocky Mountains, and planted along the shores of the Pacific, may be gradually transferred to the Asiatic coast, and the race of Shem be changed into Christians and Democrats. Oregon may thus become a most important position in the geographical progress of civilization. It will be the high tower from which the artillery of Christianity may be levelled against the paganism of the Old World, and from which the democracy of the west may advance with renewed youth

into the ancient seats of Asiatic legitimacy. The present generation may pass away before this result begins to develope itself; but already the accumulated waves of emigration are carrying thousands to the valleys on the west of the Rocky Mountains, and soon the wilderness of Oregon will become a land of fruitful fields, where agriculture, commerce, and manufactures will flourish, and where the arts of peace and the refinements of life will be cultivated. Civilization having reposed for a season upon the shores of the Pacific, will send her sweet influences still onward towards the setting sun, and diffuse her blessings among the many millions of Oriental Asia.

We have now reviewed the *geographical* progress of the United States. The actual republic has travelled from the ridge of the Alleghanies away towards the base of the Rocky Mountains, and the vast valley of the interior has added state after state to the Union. Every year has witnessed a new step in this march of our institutions. A synopsis of the additions that have been made to the old thirteen Revolutionary states, exhibits the following array of names and figures.

The states already formed out of the territory recognised as belonging to our republic at the close of the Revolution, are

Vermont,	. . .	admitted into the Union	. . .	A.D. 1791.
Kentucky,		" "	" . . .	" 1792.
Tennessee,		" "	" . . .	" 1796.
Ohio,		" "	" . . .	" 1802.
Indiana,		" "	" . . .	" 1816.
Mississippi,		" "	" . . .	" 1817.
Illinois,		" "	" . . .	" 1818.
Alabama,		" "	" . . .	" 1819.
Maine,		" "	" . . .	" 1820.
Michigan,		" "	" . . .	" 1837.

The states already formed out of the territory of the Louisiana purchase, are

Louisiana, . . .	admitted into the Union in . . .	1812.
Missouri, . . .	“ “ “ . . .	1820.
Arkansas, . . .	“ “ “ . . .	1836.
Iowa, . . .	“ “ “ . . .	1845.

The states formed out of the other territorial acquisitions of our government are

Florida, . . .	admitted into the Union in . . .	1845.
Texas, . . .	“ “ “ . . .	1845.

The population of the above sixteen states is at present about nine millions.



CONSERVATIVE INFLUENCES.

BUT suppose years have passed by, and the waste lands in the great west have become cultivated and covered with an industrious population, it is a most interesting inquiry to ask, By what means, or agencies, or influences, are these many millions to be retained in a single republic? Do not all created things tend continually to dissolution? The nations of the Old World, where are they? Where is the nation that is two thousand years old? Where is the nation that is one thousand years old? Races of men have been perpetuated through numerous centuries; but nations appear upon the stage, play their part, and when their work is done, they are resolved into their original elements. Is our republic too to pass suddenly away? Or if hopes of its permanence exist, on what are they founded?

Without pretending to enumerate all the influences which combine to preserve our government, we think the main elements of its perpetuity and progress are contained in the *moral*, *political*, and *mechanical* enginery with which it is surrounded and pervaded. These three classes of means we think warrant the hope that our system of government will be permanent, and sufficient for the immense population that will in time congregate within its limits.

In the moral class of influences may be enumerated education, religion, uniformity of language, laws, and habits, and the dispersion of near family relations through different and distant states.

In the political class stand the federative system and the ballot-box.

In the mechanical class of influences may be enumerated the power of steam, the facilities of travelling, the public press, the rapid communication of intelligence, the improvements in the arts, &c.

A developement of almost any one of these influences, in its effects upon the destiny of the human race, would of itself require a volume, and indeed upon many of them volumes have been written. Allow us cursorily—with almost enigmatical brevity—to present a few details respecting them in their connexion with our republic.

I. The first class of influences—the moral class—embracing education and religion, has in all its branches a conservative force, which though silent, is most efficacious in binding together the different interests of our country.

(1.) Education has diffused and is diffusing its light among all the millions that have congregated within the limits of the United States. I do not refer merely to that education which in a few chosen seats of learning

makes men acquainted with the higher sciences. Though this education is exerting a great power upon our country, it is comparatively a small item in the aggregate of the nation's intellectual discipline. The developement of mind in the United States is in fact the work of a system of instruction both private and public, which is practised all over the country, and which makes its voice heard in universities, in colleges, in academies, in seminaries, in private families, in workshops, in brick school houses, and in log cabin school houses, where the daylight struggles translucently in through well oiled paper. This however is only elementary instruction—the mere beginning of knowledge, and of intellectual cultivation. The education of a citizen of the United States is a work which progresses through all his threescore and ten years, and which is greatly promoted by his unceasing attention to the daily action of the political system. The public mind—that great aggregate of twenty millions of individual minds—receives from this primary and progressive instruction an intelligence and discipline which prepares and disposes it to preserve the liberties and the government which have been inherited from the revolutionary fathers.

(2.) Religion is another moral influence which exerts a conservative power upon our republic. The various governments of the Old World, both Pagan and Christian, ancient and modern, believed that the welfare of society required the state to take religion under its especial protection. What was the result? Socrates drank the hemlock, Paul was crucified, and millions have been sacrificed because they would not sacrifice as the state commanded. But in our republican system, the church is divorced from the state, and yet the Christian religion pervades the land. The American people feel no alarm

for its safety, for they believe that it is heavenly in origin, is adapted to the nature of man, and contains within itself the elements of its own perpetuity. Seventy years experience have most fully convinced them that both its purity and its power are better preserved by leaving it to the voluntary guardianship of each individual; and we certainly express the opinion of the whole country when we say that an union of church and state would be one of the most grievous curses that could be inflicted upon our nation. Christianity is, however, the broad basis of hope to those who study the actual and prospective condition of the United States. Its diffusion and its mighty energy constitutes it a reliable hope. Its still small voice is heard in the stately Gothic pile that adorns the mercantile city, and it is heard in the little wooden church that peeps out among the forest trees on the mountain side. But churches are not religion, and kneeling is not devotion. The true representative of religion in America is to be found in the correct life of the great mass of our citizens. We say this not because all are Christians, not because all are virtuous, and not because all obey the divine laws; but we say it because Christianity manifests its presence over the land in the restraints which it imposes upon the evil passions of all our citizens, and in the exemplary conduct of the thousands who make its precepts the rule of life. Its conservative influence in our republican system is at present every where *felt*. But let us look away from the present, and as we gaze into the remote future, the same Religion not only reveals sublime and glorious visions of endless life in Heaven, but it also appears as the great moral regenerator of man upon earth. Its increasing power upon the practical life of the American people will render them more capable of

preserving and perpetuating the popular institutions of the country. Their Christianity will improve their Democracy.

(3.) Another conservative influence of the moral class is the uniformity of habits, laws, and language that exists throughout the land. The present population of the United States has been gathered out of all the nations of Europe ; and yet it forms but a single people. The language, laws, and habits of the Anglo-Saxons, modified by the circumstances of the country, here predominate over all others. Frenchmen are here, Germans are here, Spaniards are here ; every corner of Europe has its representatives here ; but through them all and above them all, the English language prevails, the English common law is the basis of the state and national jurisprudence, while the habits, the manners, and customs of the whole country are in the main of Anglican origin. Local diversities indeed appear ; but take the whole country as it actually is, and we have the uniformity just mentioned. The frequent dispersion of members of the same family into different sections of the country, greatly contributes to this uniformity, and exerts a powerful influence in favour of the Union. Commerce and the innumerable interests of private life, send one member of a family to the north, another to the west, and another to the south. Who has not brothers or sisters, or near family connexions out of the state in which he resides ? This dispersion, this constant motion, this literal circulation of the blood of the country, has a powerful influence in binding together the American people, and will henceforth be a mighty power in preserving the Union.

II. But there is a second class of conservative influ-

ences—the political class—which is worthy of more than the passing notice that we can now bestow upon it.

(1.) The federative principle, the elemental principle of our political system, is that the states severally have the management of their local affairs, while the general government takes care of those interests that are common to the whole country. This plan distributes the local legislation to the districts where it is needed, and draws away from the national government innumerable cares and subjects of excitement. Such a principle gives to the Union several peculiar organic properties; one of the most remarkable of which is an indefinite expansibility. State after state has been added, and millions after millions have become citizens; and yet the political machinery has the same easy action with which it moved in its early days. We believe that the addition of other states and of other millions can be made without incurring the dangers of an overgrown political body.

(2.) Nor are the evils that may appear in the action of the system, evils without remedy. The state constitutions may be amended and modified as the people of the state desire; the only restriction being that each state shall remain, in good faith, a republic. The national constitution may also be modified where its action becomes injurious. But, beside these provisions for changing the constitutions, the people at the ballot-box have the power of correcting the evils that may arise from the improper management of the government, whether they appear in the state or in the national administration. In nations where offices are hereditary, the correction of an abuse is often a revolution. To free the country from a bad prince or wicked officer his head must be cut off—his real head of flesh and blood, and bone and muscle, must be removed. In this cut-throat

way the English corrected the abuses of Charles I., and the French in revolutionary days sought release from the oppressions of their government by destroying their princes. But in the United States there is a species of decapitation by the ballot-box, which merely cuts off a man's head politically, and leaves him all his actual top-gear just as nature made it. This is much the most quick and harmless process, and is quite as efficacious as the regicidal revolutionary guillotining which in *legitimate* governments destroys the prince in order to escape from his tyranny. In the United States the popular vote is the main engine for correcting abuses ; but its action is powerful, and a knowledge of its power disposes the people quietly to abide its decision. This sure and effective method of redressing grievances, either real or imaginary, brings increased strength into our government, and has a direct tendency to insure its perpetuity.

III. The third and last class of influences—the mechanical class—embracing the public press, the power of steam, the improvements in the arts, &c., has a great and direct power in preserving and perpetuating our republican system in all its geographical and numerical extension.

† (1.) Many of the friends of our government apprehended that it would in time be in danger of dissolution from too great an extension of territory, and too great an accumulation of interfering interests. But the power of steam has in many respects almost annihilated space. The great rivers intersecting our country in all directions furnish highways for communication from one point to another, and steam-power brings the north and the south, the east and the west into close proximity. The Mississippi and its numerous branches are almost all navigable

through their entire lengths, with the exception of one or two hundred miles from their sources. These channels—the canals cut by mighty Nature's hand—intersect all the great valley of the interior from the Alleghany to the Rocky Mountains, and steamboats may ascend the current on voyages varying from two thousand to thirty-five hundred miles. These natural highways and the power of steam applied to navigate them, connect the remotest corners of this valley, and unite its interests and its resources. The same power is applied upon the rivers and bays along the coast of the Atlantic, and even the winds and waves of the ocean have recently yielded to its all-conquering might. But where the natural channels fail the hand of man has been applied, and rail-roads have been constructed which intersect the country in various directions, and afford new scope to the mighty power of steam. The rail-road car and the steamboat have thus combined to bring the remote points of the country together, and through them distance ceases to be an impediment to the action of government. The most recent calculations announce that the journey from New York to the mouth of the Columbia on the Pacific, can be made at rail-road speed in five days—a length of time which not many years ago was consumed in travelling from Boston to Baltimore. By this application of steam power the settled limits of the country approach each other much more rapidly in time than they recede in space. Other improvements may perhaps be made in the application of this agent, and distance may be yet more rapidly traversed. The transcendental philosophers who first announced that space was merely an idea—nay, not even an idea but pure, sheer, downright nothing—most probably were favoured with some presentiments of the power of steam; for it has for many

practical purposes annihilated space. By increasing the facilities for travelling, and by destroying the barriers of mountains and made extended plains, it has exerted and it will continue to exert a mighty conservative influence upon the United States.

(2.) But what shall we say of the public press in its connexion with our republic? Blessed be Guttemberg and Faust! Little did those primitive type-cutters, four hundred long years ago, imagine that they were finding out an art which, being carried to this new continent, would here become the powerful engine of commerce, justice, government, praise, flattery, reviling, quackery, ribaldry, and all the good and evil passions of our nature. Yet such has been the result. By the favour of printing, mankind, and especially the mankind of the United States, are no longer left to grope along through the impenetrable darkness of space and time, exposed, unarmed to the plots of wily politicians. The press has here become a new engine—a new power in human government. Newspapers, pamphlets, magazines, reviews, and their various modifications, transmit information in every direction in a readable form, and at a cheap price. And though like many of the rivers of the west, they often hold in solution much slimy and filthy matter, they are invaluable agents for the communication of knowledge. It is often said that they are the means of evil as well as of good; but the evil they do is small, and the good invaluable. The thousands of printing presses distributed over the United States, act as centres of illumination, from which light flows off to every recess of the land. Daily and weekly they report the action of our government, both in its state branches and in its great central head. They collect and distribute information touching the interests of commerce, agriculture,

manufactures, religion, and the innumerable and complicated affairs of the people. Discussion is free, printing is cheap, and the sound sense of the public is the only censorship. What is the result? Enter the stately mansion in the commercial city, and the newspaper is there; enter the farm-house, and the newspaper is there; enter the little hut on the mountain, and there too is the ubiquitary newspaper. It is read in every township, and town, and hamlet: read by the farmer, the mechanic, and the cabman. By this diffusion of intelligence the people acquire a knowledge of public affairs, a knowledge that is more or less perfect, according to the degree of early education and the habits of life. The manner in which this information is communicated is also desirable. For in the newspaper system, intelligence, no matter how exciting, generally reaches individuals at their homes or when engaged in their usual employments. Hence reason has time to act, passion loses its food, and the dangers of large assemblies are avoided. In all these and other ways, the public press exerts an immense conservative influence upon the institutions of the United States.

(3.) The various improvements in the arts also have been favourable to our country. Since the American Revolution, human ingenuity, by a little well-contrived machinery, has seized the powers of nature, and set them to spin, and weave, and plane, and saw, and cut, and pound; and much of the ancient work of human hands has been committed to cords, and wire, and iron shafts. The magnetic telegraph outstrips the power of steam, and conveys intelligence with the lightning itself. In brief, the various arts of life have gone on towards perfection. This rapid advancement—these numerous changes have, in the Old World, produced effects pene-

trating deep into the frame-work of society. There they have unsettled the habits of former generations; but here, where everything has been growing and progressing, they work in with the flexible occupations of the people; and, what is a consideration of the gravest import, they have, in the main, a tendency to bring together—to centralize—to harmonize the conflicting interests of different sections of the country.

These are the main influences by whose combined action our republican system will be perpetuated, and to them we trust for its future progress and permanence. If these foundations be destroyed, we have no others on which to build.

The dangers to which our government is exposed, arise in a great part from the large extent of country, from the conflicts of opposing interests, and from the possibility of corruption gaining the ascendancy over honesty and patriotism. But these dangers will, we trust, be averted by the conservative influences which we have enumerated. The widely separated portions of country are by steam-power and electricity brought together; and by their agency within the United States, space has ceased to retard the action of government. The same agencies have also diminished the difficulties arising from the conflicting interests of distant sections of the country. But what shall we say of the danger to which our republic is exposed from the evil passions of our nature? May not corruption, which besets all men, societies, and nations, creep into the very vitals of our nation, and finally destroy the whole political body? A recent popular writer, who finds great fault with every form and manifestation of popular authority, seizes upon this last mentioned possibility, and clothes it in a dress of his own. Diving into the constitution of things, he comes

up with an idea drawn, or rather *pulled*, from the depths of human nature, and which, when squeezed from several pages of verbiage, exhibits the following appearance :

All men are infected with original sin, and are by nature prone to evil : hence, the more men there are employed in the management of a government, the more corruption there is in it : consequently, all popular governments are full of wickedness, and exposed to inevitable ruin.

This is an alarming conclusion ; but it is a conclusion that comes after an assertion admitted to be true. For we are all sinners—all—every mother's son of us ;

In Adam's fall
We sinned all.

But admitting this, what shall we say of the next step in the idea, where it is asserted that the more men employed in the management of a government, the more corruption there is in the government ? Is not this the reverse of the truth ? Cannot a despot, a Henry VIII., or a Louis XIV., infuse more corruption, more old fashioned wickedness, more abomination into a government than has appeared, or can appear in a republic ? There is, we admit, a great amount of *human nature* in the United States. But we think that the actual practical tendency of the republican system is to repress rather than to give a loose rein to this nature. We do not say that popular government will regenerate man's moral nature. That is the work of a higher system of agencies—a system of divine appointment. But we believe, that in a republic there are restraints—palliatives—correctives—which tend to keep down the evil qualities of the heart—and bring out the good. For, create in a man the sentiment of self respect—send him to the ballot-box—let him un-

derstand that he is a part of the governing power—let him see that he is one of the sovereigns—and that he has a share, and can obtain a yet greater share in the management of the government, give this scope to his active powers and to his hopes, and he becomes more every inch a man than if he were trodden down under the iron heel of a legitimate despot. He begins to feel that there are higher duties and destinies than merely to live, “propagate, and rot.” He becomes a more worthy man. This, as we conceive, is the effect of republican institutions upon individual character, and if this be a statement in accordance with the actual facts, then the more men there are employed in the management of a government the *less* corruption there is in it. The danger of ruin from this source is consequently not peculiar to a republic.

But we do not rest our hopes of democratic institutions in America upon fine-spun, logical deductions. We trust for their permanence to the more substantial, real and tangible influences already mentioned, of which the most prominent are education, Christianity, uniformity of habits, the nature of the federative system, the ballot-box, the power of steam, and the public press. A Bible, a church, a school-house, and a printing-press; these are real, positive, powerful bodily things—actual existences whose operation upon the character of our country can be relied upon with certainty. They yield more consolation, more well-grounded hope, than all the speculations, reasonings, and nicely wire-drawn theories of a rheumatic brain. Sustained by these, our nation may be perpetuated to distant centuries, and millions through ages yet to come may here gather around the Eagle and the Cross—the symbols of Liberty and Redemption. Relying upon the infallible action of these preserving influences, the Patriot as he looks forward to

the future condition of the United States, sees gorgeous visions of a prosperous and happy country. Following the Genius of America to her lofty watch-tower among her native rocks and forests, he calmly looks down upon the tide of population which rolls across the valley of the Mississippi—he hears the distant murmur that ascends from the multitudes who spread themselves along the streams, and over the plains of the distant west—he sees their rising cities, their waving fields, their happy homes, and hears a whole nation chaunt the coral song whose strains gently swelling along the mountain slopes, make known the prosperity of a virtuous republican people devoted to the cause of God and their native land.

Here end our lectures on the origin and progress of the United States.

THE END.

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